HARVARD THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

XIII

A KEY TO THE COLLOQUIES OF ERASMUS

BY

PRESERVED SMITH, PH.D., LITT.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN CORNELL UNIVERSITY

ISSUED AS AN EXTRA NUMBER OF THE
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TO

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR

THE MOST CAREFUL OF SCHOLARS

THE MOST GENEROUS OF FRIENDS

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P. S.

Cornell University
May 13, 1927

CONTENTS

PAGE

The Colloquies as a Biographical and Historical Source . . 1

1. The Colloquies of 1497 (1518, 1519). — Formulas of Latin Conversation 3

2. Froben's Edition of March 1522. — New Colloquies: The Pious Talk, the Religious Banquet 6

3. Froben's Edition of the Summer of 1522. — The Apotheosis of Reuchlin 10

4. Froben's Edition of August 1523. — Ten new Colloquies: Lover and Maiden, The Maiden Averse to Matrimony, The Penitent Maiden, The Complaining Wife, The Soldier and the Carthusian, Philetymus and Pseudocheus, The Shipwreck, Inns, The Youth and the Harlot, The Poetical Feast 12

5. Froben's Edition of March 1524. — Four new Colloquies: The Inquiry Concerning Faith, The Old Men, The Rich Beggars, The Abbot and the Blue-stocking 24

6. Froben's Edition of August–September 1524. — Six new Colloquies: The Epithalamium of Peter Gillis, Exorcism, The Alchemist, The Horse-cheat, The Beggars' Dialogue, The Fabulous Feast 27

7. Froben's Edition of February 1526. — Four new Colloquies: The Child-bearer, Pilgrimage, Fish-eating, The Funeral . . 39

8. Froben's Edition of June 1526. — One new Colloquy: Echo 43

9. Froben's Edition of 1527. — Two new Colloquies: The Great Banquet, Things and Words 44

10. Cervicorn's Edition of 1528. — Nine new Colloquies: Charon, The Synod of Grammarians, The Abominable Marriage, Imposture, Cyclops, Cross Purposes, The Counterfeit Knight, Knuckle-bones, The Parliament of Women 44

11. The Edition of September 1529. — Three new Colloquies: Early Rising, The Sober Banquet, Literature 51

12. The Edition of September 1531. — Five new Colloquies: The Sermon, The Lover of Glory, Sordid Wealth, The Seraphic Funeral, Friendship 51

13. The Edition of March 1533. — Two new Colloquies: The Problem, The Epicurean 55

A KEY TO THE COLLOQUIES OF ERASMUS

If literary theft be, like imitation, a sincere form of flattery, the Colloquies of Erasmus occupy the proud position of one of the most pillaged works in existence. Rabelais and Sir Walter Scott and Charles Reade have taken from them, with frank acknowledgment, some of the best scenes of their best works; among a host of other debtors may be mentioned Clément Marot and Montaigne and Ben Jonson and Shakespeare and Molière and Cervantes and Victorien Sardou.[1] All these heirs and imitators of Erasmus bear witness to the incomparable vitality of his art. Beginning as a textbook of conversational Latin, the Colloquies soon developed into a series of dialogues each of which tells some engaging story. And these stories are interesting not only because their author was, what Charles Reade called him, the heaven-born dramatist of his generation, but because each of them was painted from the life. Here and there a literary source can be found for some detail, or even for some plot; but the great majority of the anecdotes are founded on the personal experiences of the writer and his friends. To contemporaries these allusions added zest to the reading of the dialogues, but by subsequent generations the allusions have been lost, and it is only recently that many details of the author's life have been revealed by the new edition of his Correspondence.[2] Moreover the date of the composition, or at least of the first publication, of the various colloquies has been carefully worked out.[3] With these helps we can disentangle the twisted skein, restore lost allusions, and throw light on some points that were intentionally screened by the author from the too inquisitive gaze of hostile critics.

[1] Victorien Sardou, 'Érasme et ses Colloques,' first published in the Revue des Deux Mondes, vol. 94, 1924, pp. 481 ff.

[2] Opus Epistolarum Erasmi, ed. P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen, 6 vols., 1904 ff.

[3] Bibliotheca Erasmiana; extrait de la Bibliotheca Belgica, publiée par F. Van der Haeghen, R. Van den Berghe, T. J. I. Arnold, et A. Roersch. Colloquia, 3 vols., 1903–06.

For Erasmus, who in his more formal works and even in his published letters was usually so cautious, was highly indiscreet in his talk, and the Colloquies preserve something of this refreshing frankness.[1] Most of them report actual conversations of himself and his friends, and thus they give a more intimate picture of his private life during the period when they were written, and especially during the fifteen-twenties, than do even his letters. In this respect they are like Luther's Table Talk and Goethe's Conversations with Eckermann; for whereas in the letters Erasmus appears only in carefully selected dress, in the conversations he comes out in dressing-gown and slippers, in all the unreserve of the family circle. When persons or things discussed in this manner needed some protection, a disguise, often transparent though sometimes ingenious and obscure, could be found in the use of fictitious names.

For the author and for his public the Colloquies had the advantage of receiving continual accessions.[2] Doubtless one reason for adding a few new dialogues to each edition of the work was to keep the profits in the hands of the first printer; for in that day of poorly enforced copyright the original printer had little advantage over competitors except what he derived from priority and from the author's good will. But another reason why Erasmus kept augmenting his Adagia and Colloquia and publishing new portions of his correspondence from year to year was that it enabled him to keep up a running fire of comment on contemporary events. The author of that day, lacking the advantage of the modern journal and review, was obliged to resort to some such method in adjusting his appeals to an ever-flowing current of affairs in order to add timeliness to the other qualities of his appeal to public opinion. The first colloquies were written in 1497, the last in 1533; and by observing the order and date of publication of each dialogue we can restore to them much of the meaning which was lost

[1] Among contemporaries who noticed that he talked freely but wrote cautiously were B. Hübmaier and Hermann Hump. On Hübmaier see Allen, ep. 1292, introduction, and H. Vedder, B. Hübmaier, 1905, p. 54. On Hump see his letter to Luther in Luther's Correspondence, transl. by Preserved Smith, I, 1913, ep. 236.

[2] Erasmus himself noticed this advantage in 1523. Allen, I, 9.

when they are all joined in one volume, without indication of date, as has been the case ever since 1533.

1. *The Colloquies of 1497 (1518, 1519)*

Whereas each of the later dialogues is self-contained, telling its own story, the very earliest ones are little more than what they claim to be, formulas of conversational Latin. In an age when Latin was the ordinary language not only of the classroom but of the dormitory and refectory some such instruction was necessary to the aspiring student. There had been, for example, a Scholastic Manual [1] intended to tell students at the University of Heidelberg how to find their way about, first printed at Ulm in 1480, and reprinted no less than six times in the course of the next generation. This Erasmus probably did not know, for he shows no influence from it. In October 1518, his friend Mosellanus published a Paedologia,[2] consisting of dialogues on scholastic matters, some of which are in the Erasmian manner, although apparently neither Mosellanus nor Erasmus borrowed from the other.[3] Among others who published about this time similar textbooks, or brief dialogues, were Hegendorfer, Adrian Barland, and Schotten.[4] Shortly after the death of Erasmus his friend Vives published a *Linguae Latinae Exercitatio*, very much in the style of the Erasmian Colloquies though far inferior to them in interest and in nervous vigor.[5]

[1] Manuale Scholarium. On this see F. Zarncke, Die Deutschen Universitäten im Mittelalter, I, 1857, with reprint.

[2] New edition by H. Michael, 1906.

[3] I have noticed the following dialogues as having some slight resemblance to the topics treated by Erasmus: xii. De nuptiis, balneis ac viscerationibus; xiv. On early rising; xv. On playing ball; xix. On fasting; xxii. On fasting, with the interlocutors Conrad and Gilles.

[4] On these see L. Massebieau, Les Colloques Scolaires du 16me Siècle, 1878. Hegendorfer's Dialogi pueriles appeared as a supplement to Erasmus's Colloquies in a pirated edition of 1520, see Allen, ep. 1168; on Barland see Allen, ep. 492, ep. 1237, and ep. 1584.

[5] This has been translated by Foster Watson under the title, Tudor Schoolboy Life. Vives borrowed a few things from Erasmus's Adagia (compare his Dialogue xx. The Boy Prince, with Erasmus's remarks on the education of princes, Erasmi Opera, 1703, II, 110). From Erasmus's Colloquies he took very little,

So far as I have been able to discover, Erasmus borrowed from none of these predecessors or contemporaries. When, as a student at Paris in 1497, he began to write his own colloquies, the impulse to do so was derived entirely from the needs of his situation. Supporting himself partly by tutoring, he composed formulae of every-day Latin, teaching the various forms of greeting, of invitation, of refusal, and of other phrases needed in polite society. The names of his first pupils, who are the interlocutors, run through these early compositions, and mark off the old material from that added later as clearly as the use of the words Jahweh and Elohim indicates for the biblical critic the sources of Genesis.

Among the names thus introduced we can reasonably identify those of Augustine Vincent Caminade, James Maurice of Gouda, Christian Northoff, Peter Gilles, Thomas Grey, Francis Theodoric, Cornelius Gerard, Faustus Andrelinus, and Richard Arnold. Other names are borrowed from famous contemporaries, such as Balbus, who taught at Paris 1485–92, and Naevius, who was studying at Louvain at this time. One or more names conceal the identity of Erasmus himself — Cyprian, for example, who lost his money on the English coast just as Erasmus had done.[1] Of the pseudonyms the most interesting is that of Midas, who can probably be identified with Cornelius Gerard of Gouda.[2] In legend King Midas was famous for the golden touch; Cornelius was called Aurotinus, as if from *aurum*, a pun on Gouda, his home town. He was very intimate with Erasmus during the Paris years, especially during the spring and summer of 1498, but criticism of the humanist caused a quarrel, and the last letter known to have passed between

at most a few suggestions for subjects ("Euntes in ludum literarium") and a few names like Spudaeus and Apicius.

[1] In January 1500, Allen, epp. 118, 145. This and several other passages indicate that the Colloquies of 1497 were revised during the years immediately following. The Colloquies have been published in many editions. That from which I quote is found in the first volume of the Opera Omnia, published at Leyden, 1703 ff., col. 625 ff. There is an English translation by N. Bailey, edited by E. Johnson, 1877, and often reprinted.

[2] On him see P. Debongnie, 'Corneille Gérard à Saint-Victor,' Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis, XVII (1923), 161 ff.

them was written about October 1498.[1] In the colloquy, 'The Profane Feast,' which must have been penned before the estrangement, Cornelius is represented as the most generous man living and a good friend of Northoff, and as having sent a present of venison. An allusion in the same conversation to Sir Thomas More as passing through Paris must have been added later, as Mr. Allen surmises, probably about 1500.[2] It is not only in recalling the names of his early friends that these first formulas take us back to the author's student life. In the section headed *Euntes in ludum literarium*, Erasmus tells the story of Epimenides and applies it to Duns Scotus in the same way in which he writes of it in a letter of August 1497.[3] A little later the question is discussed whether the word 'Sorbonne' should be derived from *sorbendo*, with allusion to the bibulous propensities of the students, or from *sorbis*, because of the unpalatable nature of its fruit.

This early work Erasmus never intended for publication. It was kept, however, in manuscript notes by his pupil Augustine Vincent Caminade, though in a form so altered that the author was much annoyed to see it published in 1518,[4] under the title, 'Formulae of Familiar Colloquies, with a preface by Beatus Rhenanus.' The author himself revised and reissued it in March 1519, at the same time inserting a letter deploring its publication and blaming Caminade for its depravation.[5] The most important change was the insertion of a section headed *Quis sit modus repetendae lectionis*, with the advice to students not to learn by heart like parrots, but to read a classic carefully four times, first for the sense, then for the grammar, a third time for the rhetoric, and a fourth for the moral and philosophical instruction. Another change was the introduction into a conversation between Christian Northoff and Augustine Caminade of a passage reflecting severely on "the sophistical riddles,

[1] Allen, ep. 78. [2] Allen, I, 266. [3] Allen, ep. 64.

[4] Rhenanus's preface, dated November 22, 1518, in Briefwechsel des Beatus Rhenanus, p. 122. A copy of this rare work was offered for sale by Maggs Brothers, London, in June 1923.

[5] Allen, ep. 909. Mr. George A. Plimpton of New York owns a reprint of this edition by Val. Schumann, Lipsiae, 1520.

vain babbling, sycophancy, arrogance, virulence, sardonic humor, thrasonical boasting, and self-love" of a certain "N." Edward Lee, with whom Erasmus was at this time at swords' points, suspected with good reason that this "N" meant him, and demanded that the passage be expunged, which was done in subsequent editions.[1]

2. *Froben's Edition of March 1522*

During the fifteen years following the first publication of the Colloquies Erasmus issued many new editions with fresh material. The changes just spoken of in the edition of 1519 published by Martens were slight compared to the amount of new matter added in Froben's edition of March 1522, which, though small in comparison with the final form of the work, was about twice as large as its first form. Very noticeable in it are the maturer style, the greater coherence in the plots, the names of new friends, and a different body of reference. The work was now dedicated to Froben's six-year old son Erasmius, whose name, as well as that of his mother Gertrude, appears in the text.[2] He is the principal interlocutor in the section entitled *Confabulatio Pia,* a sort of catechism inculcating piety put in words suitable to a child's understanding. The other speaker in this dialogue is called Gaspar, and may be identified with Gaspar Ursinus Velius,[3] who spent half a year at Basle from August 1521 till the spring of 1522, and the larger part of this time was in the company of Erasmus after the latter's return to Basle in November 1521. The religious instruction is said to have been derived from "that most upright of men, John Colet."

Other speakers in the dialogues first printed at this time are George and Livinus. Though the first, unless he can be identi-

[1] Lee to Erasmus, February 1, 1520; Allen, ep. 1061, p. 167.

[2] In a letter dated February 28, 1522, Allen, ep. 1262. In later editions of the Colloquies, including that in the Opera Omnia, 1703, I, 648, his name has been changed to 'Erasmus' in the dialogue called Confabulatio Pia, thus spoiling the appropriateness of the questions and answers. The original form, 'Erasmius,' is found in the edition of 1523, a copy of which is at Cornell.

[3] On Velius, a canon of Breslau, see Allen, II, 499, and ep. 1514. There was also a Gaspar in one of Barland's Dialogues, Allen, ep. 1584, l. 25 n.

fied with Dr. George Smotzer,[1] is a youth unknown to fame, the second is familiar to us as one of the humanist's servant-pupils, Livinus Algoet.[2] Born at Ghent and educated at Louvain, he had entered Erasmus's service in 1519, and remained with him for nearly seven years, making himself especially useful as the bearer of letters. In these colloquies he is represented as having just come from Montaigu College at Paris,[3] emaciated with hunger and infested with lice. He brings the marvellous news that at the French capital "a Beet has a savor of wisdom and an Oak teaches" — an obvious fling at the humanist's old enemies Noël Beda and William Du Chesne (a Quercu). The speakers in this dialogue deplore the war raging between France and the Empire. In these words are reflected not only a humane pacifism, but the point of view of the citizen of Basle, which had just made an alliance with France.[4]

Another dialogue introduces us to Peter Gilles and Leonard Priccard. Gilles, famous as a friend of Thomas More, speaks, in the section headed *Domestica confabulatio*, of twins recently born to him and his second wife, Cornelia Sandria, whom he had married in 1514. Older children by a first wife are also mentioned — a daughter of seventeen who wishes to become a nun, and a son studying at Paris.[5]

Among the other speakers introduced into these new dialogues we encounter James Sapidus, the schoolmaster of Schlettstadt, and his friend James Spiegel, Jerome Froben, a certain Nicholas, and a certain Cocles. Nicholas may possibly be the same as Nicholas Cannius of Amsterdam, for some years a famulus of the humanist and in later life, until his death in

[1] See a letter of Erasmus to him printed in Erasmi Epistolae, xix. 64, London, 1642.

[2] On him, Allen, ep. 1091, and H. de Vocht in Englische Studien, XL (1909), 375.

[3] I cannot trace him at Paris at this time, but Erasmus's correspondence with Frenchmen was frequent. For the satire on Montaigu and its teachers Erasmus drew on his own reminiscences.

[4] On May 7, 1521. R. Wackernagel, Geschichte der Stadt Basel, III (1924), 405.

[5] As Peter Gilles was only thirty-six in 1522, these references to older children sound somewhat odd.

1555,[1] a priest in his native town. He is often mentioned in later letters and colloquies, but I cannot trace him anywhere so early as here. If this Nicholas be indeed he, he may also appear in the section on 'Benefice-hunting' under the alias of Pamphagus,[2] the 'Eater-of-everything.' At any rate Pamphagus is here rallied for his nose, which might serve as a harpoon, a bellows, a sun-shade, or a candle-extinguisher. The terms recall Erasmus's description of Cannius' nose in a letter to Oecolampadius.[3] Cocles is here perhaps Peter Meghen of Hertogenbosch in Brabant, a one-eyed messenger and scribe. As he is also called Cyclops,[4] he might be confounded with Felix Rex, known by the nicknames Polyphemus and Cyclops.

The last dialogue included in this edition is headed 'The Religious Banquet,' and is a Platonic symposium on various matters of piety and of doctrine in which a number of guests gathered for dinner in the garden of a friend take part. How the men of the Renaissance loved conversation in a garden! Such a scene is depicted over and over again; in the novels of Boccaccio, in the Thélème of Rabelais, in the idyll of Careggi, in the Utopia of More, in the plans of Bernard Palissy.[5] Erasmus often drew such a picture both in the Colloquies and in other works. A very early composition, the Antibarbari, begins by telling how he had, during a visitation of the pestilence,

[1] See his name in Van der Aa, Woordenboek.

[2] Pamphagus is the name of a dog in Ovid, Met. iii. 210, 224; for other uses of the name see Rev. d'hist. lit. de la France, XXXII, 1 ff.

[3] July 15, 1529, appended to the Leipzig 1529 edition of the Colloquia, II, 270, and quoted in Förstemann-Günther, p. 318.

[4] Allen, ep. 231, 477, and often. In a letter of Erasmus to Gilles, October 17, 1516, Erasmus says, "Cocles, aut si mavult Cyclops, illotum testamentum pro loto tradidit," and Nichols translates (ep. 484) "Cocles, or if he likes it better, Cyclops, has delivered a soiled Testament instead of a clean copy." Allen objects to this rendering and suggests that 'lotum' here means 'shirt,' V, xx. But according to Ducange 'lotum' (or more commonly 'loto') was a small coin (originally a weight).

[5] There is a singular parallel to a part of this dialogue of Erasmus in a contemporary epistle of Briçonnet to Margaret of Navarre, dated December 22, 1521, published in Herminjard, Correspondance des Réformateurs, I, 479 f. The letter could not have been known to Erasmus; it therefore proves how widely spread was this idea of an oasis of flowers and conversation, an idea colored by reminiscences of Plato and of various biblical passages.

withdrawn to a pleasant corner of Brabant and conversed sweetly with his dearest friends.[1]

The names of the speakers in 'The Religious Banquet,' in its first form, are given as Adolph, Balbus, Cornelius, Durand, and Everard. Though the selection of speakers may possibly have been influenced by the idea of taking names beginning with the first five letters of the alphabet, the persons are real friends of the writer. The first is Adolph of Veere; the second, Jerome Balbus, a Venetian then employed in diplomatic errands north of the Alps; the third is perhaps Cornelius Gerard; the fourth may be the English famulus Maurice Durand;[2] and the fifth Nicholas Everard, president of the Council of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland.

The liberal religious instruction imparted in these colloquies, and particularly the satire aimed at fasting, at pilgrimages, at indulgences, and at ceremonies in general, aroused the wrath of the conservatives. The author's old enemy Nicholas Baechem of Egmond, prior of the Carmelites at Louvain, fell upon the book with fury, designating four passages in particular as heretical and Lutheran. Erasmus, being annoyed by this attack, replied to it in an apologetic letter to the theologians of Louvain,[3] in his Catalogue of Lucubrations,[4] and in the first pages of the next edition of the Colloquies. In this he ridiculed his enemy as a "Camel" (i.e., Carmelite), who hated all things new, and therefore ought in consistency to be debarred from changing his old clothes or eating fresh eggs.[5] Since the theologians of Louvain continued to attack the Colloquies all the more after this, and to wrest them from their pupils' hands,[6] Erasmus expostulated with them in a letter dated July 1, 1525.[7]

[1] Erasmi Opera, 1703, X, 1693.

[2] On whom very little is known: see Allen, V, 11 note.

[3] Allen, ep. 1301; cf. also epp. 1296, 1299, 1300.

[4] Allen, I, 9 f.; and cf. Bibliotheca Erasmiana, Colloquia, I, 105 ff.

[5] In the opening words of the Apotheosis of Reuchlin, inserted in the next edition of the Colloquies.

[6] Allen, ep. 1537.

[7] Allen, ep. 1582.

3. *Froben's Edition of the Summer of 1522*

Later in the same year Froben published another edition of the Colloquies, revised and enlarged. 'The Religious Banquet' was largely rewritten, expanded to twice its former size, and the names of the interlocutors changed. Among the new topics discussed are some of the favorite biblical texts of the Reformers, and freedom from the ceremonial laws of fasting. The motive for the changes may be found in the author's desire to comment upon a real occurrence. On April 13, 1522, some of the Reformers at Basle, together with certain guests from other cities, announced their break with the old church by attending a banquet served with a sucking pig, though it was still Lent. The feast was plentifully supplied with wine and embellished with oratory. Among those present were Reublin, pastor of St. Alban's church, Wissenburg, chaplain of the Hospice, Boniface Wolfhart, chaplain of St. Martin's, Sigmund Steinschneider, a surgeon who derived his name from his skill in lithotomy, Herman von dem Busche, and probably Hans von Hagenau. Steinschneider, notorious for attacking mariolatry, was soon expelled from Basle, and not long after put to death by torture at Ensisheim on the charge of sedition and blasphemy. Busche, the well-known humanist of Protestant sympathies, was at Basle publishing Marsiglio of Padua's Defensor Pacis. Hans of Hagenau was a famous agitator, sometimes called Karsthans — a memorable name in the rising of the peasants.[1]

Nearly a year later Erasmus referred to this celebration as an unlucky symposium,[2] and he elsewhere ridiculed its drunkenness, but his immediate reaction was far less unfavorable. Eight days after the feast he published his 'Apologetic Epistle on the Forbidden Eating of Meat' and on similar human laws,[3] addressed to the Bishop of Basle and advocating greater freedom in the matter of fasting, fewer saints' days, and permission for priests to marry. As some of the same subjects are canvassed in the revised form of the colloquy, 'The Religious Banquet,' it may be presumed that in writing it Erasmus had

[1] Wackernagel, III, 327 f. Allen, V, 46. P. Smith, Erasmus, p. 376.
[2] Allen, ep. 1353, line 180.
[3] Opera, IX, 1197.

the barbecue in mind.[1] His purpose was to temper the rage for innovation by bringing out some of the less controversial elements in the Reform, and by showing the Reformers what a truly religious feast would have been like.

It is not difficult to identify at least some of the interlocutors. When Erasmus stated later that he meant them to be all laymen and married men, that was an afterthought, and should not prevent us from seeing in some of them ecclesiastical friends. The host, Eusebius, is Froben, whose garden and whose wife are elsewhere described as they are here.[2] Botzheim appears as Nephalius, a Greek form of his sobriquet Abstemius. Sophronius is probably Conrad Pellican, who had recently published a work of the Greek church father Sophronius, and a work of Jerome, one of whose names was Sophronius,[3] and who also appears in later colloquies under this designation. Theophilus, the young Grecian reformer, resembles Zwingli, who had just made a visit to Basle in March 1522. Chrysoglottus, the Hebrew scholar, might be either Oecolampadius (who came to Basle later in the year 1522) or possibly Capito. The other names, Timothy, Uranius, Eulalius, and Theodidactus, perhaps conceal the identity of other real persons, such as Glarean and Oswald Myconius, who were very intimate with the author.

An entirely new piece in this edition of the Colloquies was 'The Apotheosis of Reuchlin.'[4] The famous Hebrew scholar died at Liebenzele on June 20, 1522, and news of the event

[1] The statement of R. B. Drummond (Life of Erasmus, 1873, II, 153) that this colloquy contains reminiscences of the visit to Botzheim in September 1522, can hardly be correct, as the chronology shows.

[2] C. Wurstisen, Basler Chronick, I, 393, and Allen, ep. 1756. Cf. Wackernagel, III, *53 and *86, notes to pp. 292 and 422. The garden, "Zum Sessel" was near Erasmus's house. The name of Froben perhaps suggested the German word 'fromm,' which has the same meaning as the Greek Eusebius. This dialogue may have suggested to Spinoza the form of his dialogue between Erasmus and Theophilus, which appears in his Short Treatise on God and Man.

[3] Das Chronicon von Konrad Pellikan, hrsg. von B. Riggenbach, 1877, p. 55.

[4] Erasmus speaks of this Apotheosis of Reuchlin in a letter to John Fisher, September 1, 1522, Allen, ep. 1311. In earlier years Erasmus had championed his cause, and had given him a copy of his New Testament; but the two drifted apart and neither this book nor any other by Erasmus was found in Reuchlin's library at his death. K. Christ, Die Bibliothek Reuchlins in Pforzheim, 1924, p. 32.

had been brought to Erasmus at Basle by Conrad Pellican, a Franciscan already a Lutheran and a good friend of the humanist.[1] The dialogue tells of a dream, or vision, of Pellican (who figures only as "a Franciscan of singular holiness in everybody's opinion but his own"). In this, Reuchlin is taken to heaven in spite of the efforts of a crowd of black birds like harpies (i.e., the Dominican inquisitors) to keep him out. There could be no more direct and telling reply to the inquisitors, like Egmond, who were now snapping at Erasmus's heels. The speakers in the dialogue are John Alexander Brassicanus, a promising young humanist who succeeded Reuchlin as professor of philology at Ingolstadt, and a person called Pompilius. If there is any consistency in the author's nomenclature we may identify this man with Henry von Eppendorf, later to be one of the humanist's chief enemies, but now on good terms with him.[2]

4. *Froben's Edition of August 1523*

Ten new colloquies were added in the edition of 1523,[3] of these five, on love and marriage, remind us in their teaching of the feminist movement among contemporary humanists, which culminated in Agrippa von Nettesheim's *De Nobilitate et praeexcellentia feminei sexus*, written in 1509 and published in 1529. Erasmus had written an *Encomium Matrimonii* in 1518, and was perhaps already contemplating a more elaborate work, the Institution of Christian Marriage, which was published in 1526. His thoughts were turned in the direction of marriages by the wedding of his friend Glarean, to whom he gave a wedding present.[4]

[1] Das Chronicon von Konrad Pellikan, p. 79; L. Geiger, J. Reuchlin, 1871, p. 472. Erasmus fell out later with Pellican.

[2] In the colloquy, 'The Marriage no Marriage,' the villain, whom we may perhaps identify with Eppendorf, is called Pompilius Blennus, the last word meaning 'Blockhead.' Eppendorf can be traced at Basle in May 1522; Allen, IV, 303, and ep. 1283.

[3] Familiarium Colloquiorum formulae, per Des. Eras. Rot. multis adjectis. Basle, Froben, August 1523. A copy of this at Cornell has helped me to correct some of the readings in the later editions.

[4] Henry Glarean married a daughter of Hemman Offenburger on November 28, 1522; Allen, ep. 1316. On Erasmus's gift see Zwinglis Werke, ed. Egli, Finsler, and Köhler, VII, 591, 624.

In the first of this group of colloquies, entitled 'A Lover and a Maiden,' we are tempted to see a reminiscence of an early flirtation of the humanist himself. The mention of Orléans as the place would well agree with the student years of the man who then described himself as "prone to love," [1] and who later admitted that he had never boasted of his chastity.[2] Moreover the name Pamphilus,[3] though it might have been derived from many literary sources, resembles the name Erasmus in meaning, and is analogous to the pseudonym Eros in which the author masquerades elsewhere. On the other hand there was at Basle at nearly this time a printer and pamphleteer named Pamphilus Gengenbach, and this may have suggested to Erasmus the name of the interlocutor in his colloquy. Gengenbach himself apparently knew the Erasmian work, and borrowed from it the plot of his dialogue, *Barbeli*, in which a mother and daughter discuss the relative advantages of marriage and a nunnery.[4]

Exactly the same subject is treated in the next two dialogues, 'The Maiden averse to Matrimony' and 'The Penitent Maiden.' The attention of the world had been turned to the subject of monastic vows by Luther's attack on them. Public opinion at Basle was strongly in favor of curbing the monasteries, and particularly the nunneries. In December 1523 an ancient widow of Basle, Mary Zscheckabürlin, niece of the Carthusian

[1] Erasmus spent the last three months of 1500 at Orléans; in October 1499 he spoke of himself as "prone to love." Allen, ep. 107.

[2] Allen, ep. 1433, lines 150 f.

[3] The name Pamphilus was so popular that Gaston Paris suggested that it was the source of the word 'pamphlet.' For bibliography cf. W. Cloetta, Beiträge zur Litteraturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance, I, 1890, pp. 89 ff.; P. Bahlmann, 'Die epischen Komödien und Tragödien des Mittelalters,' Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen, X, 1897, pp. 467 f. I owe these references to Professor George L. Hamilton. The name Pamphilus is found in Plato, in Boccaccio, and in Valla's De Voluptate ac Vero Bono, Basle, 1519, p. 70. There was also a mediaeval adaptation of Ovid called 'Pamphilus de amore.' In one of his early poems, written when he was fourteen years old, Erasmus calls the hero Pamphilus and Ἔρως; Opera, 1703, VIII, 561.

[4] K. Goedeke, Pamphilus Gengenbach, 1853. He was at Basle 1517–22. His dialogue entitled Barbeli, in German, was printed in 1526. See F. Humbel, U. Zwingli und seine Reformation im Spiegel der gleichzeitigen schweizerischen volkstümlichen Literatur, pp. 19, 124 ff.

prior, revoked a legacy which she had made in 1518 of a sum of money to endow a poor girl going into the cloister, and changed the bequest to one providing a dower to enable a poor girl to marry.[1] The agitation against the women's cloister gradually increased until on February 13, 1525, a thorough reform was enacted by the Town Council.[2]

In writing these colloquies with the purpose of dissuading young people from taking the irrevocable vows of the religious, Erasmus was moved not only by the march of events, which made the doctrine timely, but by bitter memories of his own. He harbored a rancorous resentment at the way in which he had been half-forced, half-enticed, into the cloister. Within a few months after the date of this publication, he wrote for a would-be biographer an account of his early life in which his hard feeling towards those who had driven him into the career of a canon regular found its strongest expression.[3] Drawing freely on these reminiscences he painted a picture of the cloister so dark that these colloquies suffered the special animadversion of the committee appointed by the Council of Trent to report on secret marriages.[4]

Erasmus's dislike of the cloister, founded on his own memories, was stimulated and corroborated just at this time by reading Luther's Treatise on Monastic Vows (1522). Not only does he refer to it occasionally in his letters,[5] but he borrows from it, with evident approbation though without express acknowledgment, in the two colloquies of 1523. His whole indictment of the monastic profession reminds the reader of some of Luther's arguments, and even in details Erasmus now

[1] Wackernagel, III, 349.

[2] Wackernagel, III, 365. See also a complaint of the poverty of the convent of St. Mary Magdalene at Basle in a letter to the bishop, September 19, 1523; E. Dürr, Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation, I, 1921, no. 165.

[3] Allen, ep. 1436, first published this.

[4] Report of John Baptist Castaneo, archbishop of Rossano, dated August 11, 1533, Concilii Tridentini Actorum, tomus IX, 1924, p. 693.

[5] Allen, ep. 1436, and George of Saxony to Erasmus, ep. 1503. The De Votis was printed by Petri at Basle in 1522, and in 1523 Petri printed a work with a title suggestive of the subject of Erasmus's colloquies, Ein kurtze antwort einer ordensschwester irem natürlichen bruder Karthuser zugeschickt, cf. Wackernagel, III, *67.

and then follows him. In repudiating the monks' doctrine that profession, as the initiation into a new religious life, is a sort of baptism, Erasmus copies the thought of Luther. In the second dialogue, 'The Penitent Maiden,' a still more startling echo of Luther reverberates in the words of the girl that she has been directed to the cloister by an apparition which she feared was an evil spirit.[1] The general purpose of these two dialogues is so plain that it is perhaps not necessary to identify the interlocutors. Nevertheless, Eubulus may well represent Erasmus himself, and the girl, Catharine, may have been suggested by the daughter of Peter Gilles, already mentioned as desiring rather against her father's wishes to take the veil.

In the next colloquy, '*Uxor* Μεμψίγαμος,' or 'The Discontented Wife,' Xanthippe complains to Eulalia of her husband's debauchery, and to reconcile her friend with her lot Eulalia relates various stories of married life. These all bear on their face the stamp of truth, and all are apparently derived from the experiences of Erasmus's friends, though not every one of the persons anonymously introduced can be identified. The first anecdote, as Mr. Allen has proved, depicts a scene from the married life of Sir Thomas More,[2] and thus illumines the early years of that great man. Little is known of his first marriage, except that he fell in love with a younger daughter of John Colt of Netherhall, Essex, but thinking that it would be a shame to the older daughter Jane to see her younger sister married before she was, sued for and won the hand of Jane. Immediately after the marriage, which has conjecturally been placed by biographers in 1505, but is more likely to have taken place earlier,[3] the young couple set up housekeeping in one of the narrow streets of Bucklersbury, near Cheapside, in London. Erasmus was in England during part of the years 1505 and 1506, and perhaps learned from his friend at that time what he relates in the following words:

[1] Cf. De Votis Monasticis, Luthers Werke, Weimar, VIII, 595 f., 573 f.

[2] London Times Literary Supplement, December 26, 1918.

[3] Margaret More, Sir Thomas's oldest child, translated Erasmus's Precatio Dominica, which was printed by W. de Worde in 1524 with the notice that it was "translated by a young Gentlewoman of XIX years."

I know a man of good birth and education and singularly clever and tactful. He had married a young girl of seventeen, whose life had been spent without a break in her parents' home in the country, where noblemen usually like to reside, for hunting and hawking. He wished his bride quite undeveloped, that he might more easily mold her to his own tastes. He began to interest her in books and music, to accustom her to repeat the substance of sermons she heard, and to train her to other useful accomplishments. All this was quite new to the girl. She had been brought up at home in complete idleness, playing and talking to the servants. Very soon she began to be bored, and refused to comply. If her husband urged her, she would burst into tears; sometimes even throwing herself to the ground and beating her head on the floor, as though she wished to die. As this went on, the young man, concealing his vexation, suggested that they should pay a visit to her parents in the country, with which she joyfully fell in. On arrival he left her with her mother and sisters, and went off with her father to hunt. As soon as the two were alone, he told his story: how instead of the happy companion he had hoped for, he found his wife perpetually in tears and quite intractable; and he begged for assistance in curing her.

"I have given her to you," was the reply, "and she is yours. If she does n't obey you, use your rights and beat her into a better frame of mind."

"I know," said the husband, "what my rights are; but I would rather the change were effected with your aid and authority, than resort to such extreme measures."

The father consented, and after a day or two found an opportunity to speak with his daughter alone. Setting his face to severity he said:

"You are a plain child, with no particular charm; and I used often to be afraid I should have difficulty in getting you a husband. After a great deal of trouble I found you one whom any woman might envy; a man who, if he were n't very kind, would hardly consider you worth having as a servant; and then you rebel against him."

This stratagem was successful and resulted in a complete reconciliation. More fully shared the views of his contemporaries as to the subordination of women. In Utopia, he assures us, husbands chastise their wives, and in his Treatise on the Passion he wrote:

A woman should learn of her husband *in silentio*, that is, in silence, that is to wytte, she should hear him and hold herself her tongue.[1]

When More was married a second time he continued to instruct his wife, of whom, as an undocile pupil, he gives an amusing account in one of his later works.[2]

[1] More's Workes, 1557, p. 1275.

[2] Second Part of the Confutation of Tyndale's Answer, in Selections from More, ed. P. S. Allen and H. M. Allen, 1924, p. 102.

Three other stories of married life related by Eulalia to Xanthippe, though patently drawn from the contemporary scene, relate to persons more difficult, if not impossible, to identify. Two of them tell of men weaned away from adulterous passions by the sweetness and wisdom of their wives, and of one wife-beater cured in the same manner. Two of the men were citizens of Basle; one is called, pseudonymously one imagines, Gilbert the Dutchman. As Basle at that time was full of sexual looseness[1] it is not easy to say whom of a number of known offenders Erasmus had in mind. It is possible that Froben, who had an illegitimate daughter, may have been one of the originals, and John Roman Wonnecker, town physician of Basle from 1493 until his death in 1524, another. The latter's morals had been a scandal to the town ever since 1508, when he was brought before the court for having deflowered a maid and gotten her with child.[2]

One of the favorite subjects of the humanist Erasmus's exhortation was the folly and wickedness of war. In letters, in his Adages, in pamphlets, he preached peace; and he had already touched on the subject in one of the earlier colloquies, 'A Soldier's Life,' a dialogue between Hanno and Thrasymachus. Perhaps he found the more occasion to return to the same subject in the colloquy entitled 'The Soldier and the Carthusian' because of the constant efforts of foreign powers to recruit Swiss mercenaries and the frequent attempts of the cantons to forbid such enlistment. Just before this time, on May 18, 1522, the Swiss communes had passed a law prohibiting their subjects from entering foreign military service.[3] The immediate cause for this regulation was the persistent effort of France, an ally of the city of Basle, to raise mercenaries. This led to a protest and threat from the emperor Charles.[4] The timid scholar would be the first to dread complications, and in painting his lively picture of the wretched life of the soldier he had

[1] Wackernagel, III, 293 ff.

[2] Wackernagel, III, 131.

[3] On this, and on Zwingli's preaching against mercenary service, see Zwinglis Werke im Auswahl, ed. Finsler, Köhler, Rüegg, 1918, p. 41.

[4] Wackernagel, III, 33, 106, 308, 405.

plenty of material to draw from at home. The soldier of the colloquy bears a close resemblance to Mathis Henckel, who after foreign service had returned in 1509 to Basle, and there set up a tavern and lived with harlots until 1521, when he entered the army of the Duke of Württemberg. Another Basle mercenary, who afterwards died at the battle of Pavia, leaving behind him fourteen destitute children, was Henry Isenflam.[1] In naming a Carthusian as the other interlocutor Erasmus may have been thinking of an adventure of Ulrich von Hutten. In 1521 this reckless and debauched soldier had had a violent quarrel with the prior of the Carthusian house at Strassburg, and had been sued by him and condemned to pay damages of two thousand gulden.[2] Whereas some features of the picture of the soldier in the present dialogue recall Hutten, others are taken from the typical landsknecht. Perhaps this colloquy is the source of one of the Pensées of Pascal, on *Quelle est la Différence entre un soldat et un chartreux?* [3]

The colloquy, *Philetymus et Pseudocheus*, or 'The Truth-teller and the Liar,' depicts a thoroughly false and dishonest person who abuses his office as messenger and broker to embezzle funds, falsify accounts, and stir up trouble between friends living at a distance, one for example at Basle and the other in England. The original of this portrait was Francis Berkman, a native of Cologne, with whom Erasmus had many unpleasant experiences.[4] When the dialogue was published, the object of the satire was at once recognized by the author's intimate friend Vives.[5]

The famous colloquy, 'The Shipwreck,' tells with such incomparable vigor and lifelikeness the story of a storm at sea, of fiery globes sticking to the masts, of the hysterical prayers

[1] Wackernagel, III, 106, 405.

[2] Basler Chroniken, I (1872), 382, Chronicles of the Carthusians of Basle. The writers would probably be known to Erasmus; they were George Zimmermann and Jerome Zschegkebürlin.

[3] Pensées de Pascal, ed. Brunschvieg, 1904, II, 425.

[4] On Berkman, Allen, I, 509, and Allen's article in Transactions of the Bibliographical Society, XIII (1915), 309 f. Among Erasmus's many allusions to him may be noticed especially epp. 1437, 1507.

[5] Vives to Erasmus, London, November 13, 1524, Allen, epp. 1513 and 1560.

of the passengers, and of the final beaching of the vessel and rescue of the passengers on the coast of Holland, that I have long suspected the narrative to have been based on a real experience, and now at last I am able to prove it and to name the very ship and the man who told the tale to Erasmus. The names of the interlocutors are given as Anthony and Adolph; the first is probably the younger Anthony of Bergen, son of John, Lord of Bergen, a youth who was cupbearer at the court of Henry VIII for a few years beginning in 1519; the second is certainly Adolph of Burgundy, Lord of Veere and Beveren, whom Erasmus had known ever since Adolph was a boy and to whom he had dedicated 'An Exhortation to Virtue' in 1499. He is known to have been sent as ambassador of Charles V to England in 1525, and this colloquy makes it probable that he had been in Scotland in 1515.[1] For it was in January 1516 that the Scotch merchant-ship Good Fortune, sailing from Leith to Normandy, was cast by a tempest on the coast of Friesland, where the sailors were rescued and the boat saved by Florence von Ravenstane, Praefect of King Charles.[2] In the then inchoate state of international law wrecked vessels were regarded as prizes of the lord of the territory on which they were driven. The Good Fortune, accordingly, was seized by the Duke of Gelderland, but was again rescued from him by Ravenstane and taken into the port of Veere. Here it was that Adolph either heard the thrilling narrative he relates, or else, if he was a passenger, landed in his own home port.

The facts just related prove that the Good Fortune was the original of the ship in the colloquy. One further point of interest, which serves to clinch the matter, is that Adolph mentions among the passengers an Italian ambassador to the king

[1] On Adolph of Veere see Allen, I, 229. In the colloquy he tells the story of the shipwreck in the first person, but of course it is possible that he heard the details from another passenger.

[2] All this is told in a letter from James V of Scotland to Anne of Veere, and in one to Charles, Duke of Gelderland, published in Epistolae Jacobi Quarti, Jacobi Quinti, et Mariae, 1722, I, 231 ff. These letters are not dated, but come in chronological order between letters of 1516, and were certainly after August 1514, when the Duke of Albany was appointed regent. Another letter, to Anne of Veere, dated September 29, 1517, complains of the detention of another ship at another time, ibid., p. 299.

of Scotland, and that just at this time the Scotch government was carrying on a lively correspondence with the Holy See.[1]

The story bears in every detail the stamp of life; hardly a trait is borrowed from earlier tales of shipwreck such as those related in the Odyssey, the Aeneid, the Acts of the Apostles, the tale of Apollonius of Tyre,[2] Daphnis and Chloe, the Decameron.[3] In only one instance does Erasmus borrow from an earlier source; he introduces a humorous incident from Poggio's *Facetiae*.[4] Poggio relates that, when in England, he heard of an Irish shipmaster who during a storm vowed to Mary a candle as big as a mast. When reminded by his mate that he could not pay such a vow, he replied: "Let me promise as much as I like to the Mother of God, until we are saved. For if we escape she must be content with a penny candle." The same incident appears, with variations, in Erasmus; and although he criticized very severely Poggio's impiety and obscenity,[5] he occasionally borrowed from him elsewhere.[6] Particularly noteworthy is Erasmus's account of St. Elmo's fire.[7] He speaks of the phenomenon in these words:

> The night was lightish, and in the topmast stood a helmeted sailor as a lookout for land. To him a fiery point began to stick, which, coming alone, is considered an evil portent, though if two come together the sign is considered lucky. Antiquity believed them to be Castor and Pollux. . . . Soon the fiery globe fell down through the ropes and rolled to the skipper.

Were these words in Shakespeare's mind when he made Ariel say:

[1] Letters of James V to Leo, ibid., pp. 220 ff.

[2] Historia Apollonii Regis Tyrii, ed. A. Riese, 1871, capp. 11, 12. For the large bibliography of this story, see Shakespeare's Pericles in any modern edition.

[3] Boccaccio, Decameron, second day, fourth novel.

[4] Facetiae, no. 207.

[5] Allen, ep. 182 (1505) and ep. 337 (1515).

[6] Perhaps Erasmus took from Poggio the observation in the Praise of Folly that the two points of a bishop's mitre signify the bishop's knowledge of the Old and New Testaments. Poggio added an indecent comment, which Erasmus omitted.

[7] On this see Encyclopaedia Britannica, and Brand's Antiquities, ed. by Hazlitt, 1905, s.v. 'Castor and Pollux.' Professor G. L. Hamilton also calls my attention to the following references: Rendel Harris, Boanerges, 1913, pp. 205 ff.; Littré, Dictionnaire, notes s.v. 'Elme.'

I boarded the king's ship; now on the beak,
Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin
I flamed amazement. Sometimes I'd divide,
And burn in many places: on the topmast,
The yards, the bowsprit, would I flame distinctly,
Then meet and join.[1]

The colloquy *Diversoria*, or 'Inns,' has done good service to all writers on the history of manners, to historical novelists like Charles Reade [2] and Walter Scott,[3] and to writers of comedy like Ben Jonson.[4] With much humor and with no little feeling, born of recent hard experiences, the author contrasts the excellence of the French hostels with the squalor and discomfort of the German. The name of the first interlocutor, Hilary, introduces us to another of the writer's numerous famuli, whose last name was Bertholf.[5] He was born in Flanders towards the close of the fifteenth century, studied at Paris, became a friend of Vives, and in 1522 entered the service of Erasmus. In 1523 he was sent on an errand to the French court, where he remained for some time, associating with Rabelais and Margaret of Navarre. After 1531 he settled at Brussels. But the accounts of the delightful French inns and the detestable German ones are drawn from Erasmus's own memories. On the road to Italy he had been entertained at a particularly pleasant hostelry at Lyons, and of course he had often stayed at German inns. The worst of all his experiences seems to have been encountered in the autumn of 1518 as he was travelling from Basle to the Low Countries. His letter [6] describing the tragicomedy of this journey bears many points of resemblance to the colloquy of 1523.

For the plot of his story, 'The Youth and the Harlot,' Erasmus for once had recourse to a literary source. The legend of the pious young man converting the loose woman to a holy

[1] The Tempest, act i, scene 2. Shakespeare's main source was a letter describing a shipwreck in the Bermudas, but his language closely resembles that of Erasmus in this colloquy.

[2] The Cloister and the Hearth.

[3] Anne of Geierstein, chap. xix.

[4] Every Man out of his Humor, iii, 1.

[5] Roersch, L'Humanisme Belge, pp. 69 ff.; Allen, V, 13.

[6] Allen, ep. 867, about October 15, 1518.

life had become fixed in the hagiology of the church and attached to the names of the Egyptian hermit Paphnutius and the woman Thais, afterwards canonized. The theme has proved attractive to writers of fiction like Anatole France, and and to dramatists, of whom the first was the German nun Hrotswitha in the eleventh century. From her, it would seem, Erasmus borrowed his plot; for the parallels, as shown below, are so striking that in the absence of any known common source a direct connection must be assumed.[1]

Hrotswithae Gandeshemensis comoediae sex (ed. J. Bendixen, 1862), 'Paphnutius,' p. 105.	*Erasmi opera, I, p. 718, 'Adolescens et Scortum.'*
Paphnutius. O Thais, Thais, quanta gravissimi itineris currebam spatia, quo mihi daretur copia tecum fandi, tuique faciem contemplandi.	Lucretia. Euge mi lepidissime Sophroni, tandem nobis redditus es? Nam mihi videris abfuisse seculum.
Thais. Nec aspectum subtraho, nec colloquium denego.	
P. Secretum nostrae confabulationis desiderat solitudinem loci secretioris.	Sophronius. Cupio tecum seorsim colloqui familiarius.
T. Ecce cubile bene stratum, et delectabile ad inhabitandum.	L. Au, au, non solae sumus, mea mentula?
P. Estne hic aliud penitius, in quo possimus colloqui secretius?	S. Secedamus in secretiorem locum.
T. Est etenim aliud occultum, tam secretum ut eius penetral nulli praeter me, nisi deo, est cognitum.	L. Age concedamus in cubiculum interius, si quid libet.
P. Cui deo?	S. Nondum hic locus mihi videtur satis secretus. . . . Fallemus hic oculos Dei?
T. Vero.	
P. Credis illum aliquid scire?	
T. Non nescio illum nihil latere.	L. Nequaquam: ille perspicit omnia.

Surprising as it may appear that Erasmus should have borrowed from a barbarous mediaeval writer, these parallels would seem to be conclusive. The fact is that Hrotswitha enjoyed a considerable reputation during the Renaissance. Albrecht

[1] The legend of St. Thais and Paphnutius is printed from several manuscripts in the Acta Sanctorum for October 8, vol. IV, 223 ff. There are no close parallels to Erasmus either here or in the story as it appears in the Legenda Aurea, ed. T. Graesse, 1846, pp. 677 ff. On the whole subject see O. R. Kuehne, A Study of the Thais Legend, University of Pennsylvania dissertation, 1922. The story is also found in the Vitae patrum, attributed to Jerome, and in the Exempla of Jacques de Vitry, ed. Crane, no. 257, and note. See also H. I. Bell, Jews and Christians in Egypt, 1924, pp. 100 ff.

Dürer knew her well, and put her into one of his pictures.[1] Her works had recently been discovered in a library at Regensburg by Conrad Celtis, and were first published at Nuremberg in 1501.

But if the theme of the story was thus borrowed, the local color was added from the writer's own reminiscences and from those of a friend. He changed the name of the harlot (as of course was necessary, seeing that Thais was now a saint), selecting the name Lucretia as one of those classical appellations favored by the demi-mondaines of Rome.[2] For it is in the capital of Christendom that the scene is laid, and the name of the youth, Sophronius, probably stands here for Conrad Pellican (as in the earlier colloquy, 'The Religious Symposium'), who had recently made the pilgrimage to Rome [3] and was now on intimate terms with Erasmus. For had Erasmus been drawing chiefly on his own reminiscences of his visit to Italy in 1506–09, he could hardly have made Sophronius use such expressions as that he had been saved from vice by reading Erasmus's New Testament and the Paraphrase, published not earlier than 1516. Two sayings put into the mouth of Sophronius have a strong Lutheran flavor. One is his statement (like that of Luther about his own experience [4]) that at Rome he made a general confession of all his sins. The other is the advice to those who would avoid unchastity that marriage is the final remedy.[5]

This colloquy like others was pounced upon by the writer's enemies, who took offence at his realism in putting an indecent word into the mouth of the harlot. For this the author defended himself in a long letter, alleging the common usage of the time.[6] Elsewhere he relates a story of a worthy matron

[1] Reproduced in Klassiker der Kunst, Dürer, p. 190.

[2] E. Rodocanachi, Courtisanes et Bouffons, 1894. The scandalous repute of Lucretia Borgia may have influenced the choice of the name.

[3] In 1517; see his Chronicon, pp. 58 ff.

[4] Lutheri Colloquia, ed. Bindseil, 1863–66, III, 169.

[5] This advice was tendered by Luther on many occasions, in general in his Sermon on Marriage, and in particular to inquiring disciples, such as Thomas Dusgate. Cf. Dusgate's own account published in the Lutheran Theological Review, October 1922.

[6] May 19, 1526. Epistolae, London, 1642, XXIX, 19.

who was startled by a sudden fall on the ice into using the same objectionable word.[1]

'The Poetical Feast,' a symposium on various literary matters, undoubtedly recalls a real occasion; a dinner similar to the one described by Hilary Bertholf in a letter of November 9, 1523.[2] Among the guests at the 'Poetical Feast' Hilary Bertholf himself is mentioned first of all, then Leonard Priccard, a canon of Aachen; Crato, by whom is meant Crato Stallberger, a doctor of medicine of Antwerp and for sometime a guest at Erasmus's house at Basle;[3] Louis Kiel, or Carinus, a pupil of Glarean. Richard Sbrulius, an Italian adventurer, appears under his own name; Eubulus stands for Erasmus; Parthenius I am unable to identify. The maid, Margaret, also comes in under her own name.[4]

5. *Froben's Edition of March 1524*

When, only seven months after the last edition, a new one came from the press, it contained four fresh colloquies. The first of these, the *Inquisitio de fide* or 'Inquiry concerning Faith,' canvasses certain Catholic dogmas by way of a discussion between Barbatus, a reformer, and Aulus, a Romanist. Four years after the publication of this dialogue the author in one of his numerous apologies[5] explained that "under the name of Barbatus I represent Luther; in the person of Aulus I represent myself or some other orthodox man speaking." It is natural, therefore, that what is said about the *bruta fulmina* of papal bans, which resemble God's sentences only as electric sparks in glass vessels resemble lightning, tends to recall Luther's Sermon on the Ban. If the colloquy could be dated a little later, in April — and there are several examples in Erasmian works of material inserted after the date on the title-page —

[1] Erasmi Opera, V, 717.

[2] H. C. Agrippae Operum pars posterior, Lyons, s.d., 806 f. The names given by Bertholf of the guests at this dinner — Cantiuncula, Philibert a Lucingia, and Thomas Zeger — do not agree with the names that can be identified in the 'Poetical Feast.'

[3] See Allen, V, 133 note.

[4] Cf. Allen, ep. 1371, and Erasmi Opera, III, epp. 1070 and 1237. Her name was Margaret Büsslin, Wackernagel, III, *86, note to 422.

[5] Apologia adversus Monachos Hispanos, Opera, IX, 1060.

it would be natural to see in it reminiscences of a conversation with Camerarius, the young student of Wittenberg who brought Luther's letter of April 1524 to Erasmus. As a true Melanchthonian, Camerarius probably impressed Erasmus as being in imperfect sympathy with Luther, and his words would be put in the mouth of Aulus. The Greek word αὐλή and the Latin 'camera' have similar meanings.

'The Old Men's Dialogue' introduces us to four ancient gentlemen who had been friends in youth and who, having met at Antwerp, compare their experiences during the forty-two years since they had studied together at Paris. None of the names can be applied exactly to any individual; but each of them is typical of a class. Glycion, for example, has married a wife and obtained employment in public office, as had Cornelius Grapheus, secretary of the town of Antwerp. Polygamus, as his name indicates, was chiefly celebrated for his marriages. He has just taken his eighth wife, and is mentioned again in a later colloquy (February 1526) as having buried a tenth consort. Erasmus may have found a suggestion of him in an epistle of Jerome, who tells of a Roman known to have buried his twenty-first wife;[1] but there were, allowing for humorous exaggeration, plenty like him among the humanist's contemporaries. Peter Gilles and Justus Jonas each married three times, the Basle printer Oporinus four times, and Henry VIII six times. Nor were the ladies behindhand in the matter. One woman married in succession Ludwig Keller, Oecolampadius, Capito, and Bucer; and Catharine Parr married four times. It was an age of high mortality. One interlocutor in this dialogue, Pampirus ('Try-all-things'), is another type common in that restless age, the man who had been soldier, priest, and tramp, and had travelled to Scotland, Ireland, France, Italy, and Jerusalem. The literature of the time is full of these wandering rogues, of whom the tale, Till Eulenspiegel, first published in 1515 and perhaps written by Murner, is the classic example.[2]

[1] Jerome, Ad Gerontiam, Opera, I, 90.

[2] Erasmus could not have read the German work, and apparently took nothing from it. Possibly Spenser's Mother Hubbard's Tale owes something to this colloquy. See Chandler, The Literature of Roguery, 1907.

Πτωχοπλούσιοι, or 'The Rich Beggars,' is a conversation between Conrad and an Innkeeper on the subject of the Franciscan friars. It again embodies a real event in the life of Conrad Pellican, as he tells in his Chronicle.[1] The dialogue is further remarkable as containing one of Erasmus's few allusions to the New World. He speaks of the nudity of the savages, of their decoration with feathers, and of their strange punishment for adultery. The nudity of the Indians impressed the discoverers, and is much dwelt upon by Vespucci, but I have not found the source for the statement that they punish adultery not at all in a woman and in a man by forcing him to go with his private parts covered.[2] Many of the books of travel of the explorers were popular, and a large collection of them was published under the editorship of Erasmus's friend Grynaeus at Basle in 1537.[3] Erasmus was also intimate with Glarean, whose interest in the New World was such that he made in 1513 a map of it, calling the continent America, and published a work on geography at Basle in 1527.[4] Erasmus had met a son of Columbus in 1520, and it is possible that he had information from him.[5]

[1] Das Chronikon von Konrad Pellikan, p. 80.

[2] With this we may compare a statement about the female sex made by Peter Martyr, who says that in Hispaniola the natives of both sexes go naked "except corrupt women, who cover their private parts only with cotton drawers." Elsewhere he speaks of native tribes in which the men commonly cover their privy parts, but nothing else. Petri Martyris Anglerii Opus Epistolarum (first ed. 1530), Amsterdam, 1670, ep. 156. The natives go naked "praeter corruptas mulieres, quae femoralibus gosampinis pudenda tantum contegunt." Some of the letters in this work are not genuine epistles. See a study by Bernays. Erasmus, however, could hardly have known these letters, since, though they were dated 1495, they were not published until 1530. The continuation of the Ursberg Chronicle, attributed to Hedio (Strassburg, 1537, p. 463), describes seven wild men brought from the New World to Rouen in 1509.

[3] The Novus Orbis of Grynaeus, 1537, contains, besides the tales of oriental travellers, the letters of Columbus, the Four Voyages of Vespucci, and Peter Martyr's De insulis nuper repertis. Vespucci's letter to Soderini and Four Voyages have been well edited and translated by G. T. Northup. E. Weil has recently republished De insulis inventis epistola C. Coloni, from the Basle edition of 1494.

[4] On Glarean, life by O. F. Fritzsche, 1890; Allen, II, 279; Stevenson, Terrestrial and Celestial Globes, 1921, I, 72; II, 204.

[5] No corroboration of Erasmus's statements is found in J. Müller, Das sexuelle Leben der Naturvölker, nor in Westermarck's History of Human Marriage, 3rd ed., 1901.

The dialogue entitled 'The Abbot and the Learned Lady,' in its plea for the higher education of women, reflects the influence of two works of Vives published in 1523, *De Institutione Foeminae Christianae* and *De Ratione Studii Puerilis*. Erasmus had already been converted to the belief that women are capable of learning and enjoying Latin and Greek by the example of the sisters of Pirckheimer [1] and the daughters of Sir Thomas More. In the same year in which this colloquy appeared Margaret More had translated Erasmus's tract on the Lord's Prayer, published at London by Wynkyn de Worde.[2] The name Magdalia given to the blue-stocking in the dialogue is perhaps derived from "Maggy" or "Meg," as Margaret More's father called her, or from the German *Magd*, rather than from the then favorite name Magdalene. The opponent of women's education is an abbot called Antronius, a Greek synonym for 'Ass.' The man Erasmus most probably had in mind was Henry Standish, bishop of St. Asaph, or, as the humanist called him, "a sancto Asino." [3] He had once been a Franciscan warden.

6. *Froben's Edition of August-September 1524*

Tirelessly Erasmus continued to write new essays for the public. The next edition, printed within six months of the last, contained six new dialogues, four of them on various kinds of frauds.[4] The first piece to be included, however, was an old manuscript which the writer had been keeping back for some years. The 'Epithalamium of Peter Gilles' depicts the Muses as rejoicing over the wedding of Gilles and Cornelia Sandria, which took place about August 1514. Erasmus had already promised the Epithalamium to Gilles in October of the same

[1] Allen, ep. 1259.

[2] This work, translated "by a young gentlewoman of nineteen," was published about October 1524. The second edition, by T. Bartlett, 1526, fell under the animadversion of the authorities. See Transactions of Bibliographical Society, XV (1920), 166 ff.

[3] Allen, IV, 387.

[4] A short work 'On Divination,' otherwise unknown, is spoken of in a letter of Botzheim, January 7, 1523, Allen, ep. 1335. Is not this likely to have been a colloquy on a similar subject, perhaps suppressed as too daring?

year, but the allusions to the death of Busleiden and to the foundation of the Collegium Trilingue show that it could not have been completed before 1518.[1] When, about August 1526, Cornelia died at the age of thirty, Erasmus wrote her epitaph.[2]

The importance of the next dialogue, 'The Exorcism, or Apparition,' whether as a satire on the prevalent superstitions connected with ghosts, magic, signs in the heavens, demons, and the like, or as an important document relating to the early life of Sir Thomas More and his friends, has never been fully appreciated. The timeliness of the writer's skepticism and ridicule can only be understood in relation to contemporary history. In 1499 Agostino Nifo in Florence had published an astrological prediction of a flood to take place in the year 1524; this was enlarged and reprinted by J. Stöffler in Germany in 1517, and excited so vast an amount of attention that no less than fifty-one pamphlets on the subject written between the years 1517–24 are known.[3] One of these, in the form of a letter from a Cambridge student written in 1521, quoted a prediction of disaster, based on astrology, for the year 1524, from John de Monte Regio (Regiomontanus).[4] Erasmus, who must have had these publications in mind, speaks directly (both here and elsewhere) of one of the most scandalous of all the fraudulent apparitions ever engendered by the perverted piety of bigots, the famous impostures of the Dominican of Bern, John Jetzer, who had appeared to some of his brothers as the Virgin Mary, and had played upon their credulity until the Inquisition discovered the fraud and stopped it by putting four of the participants to a fiery death.[5] Another object of Erasmus's satire, both here and in a later colloquy (the *Ichthyophagia*) was the so-called "letter from heaven." Examples of missives purporting to come directly from the skies, or from hell, are known

[1] Allen, ep. 312. [2] Allen, III, 146.

[3] G. Hellmann, Aus der Blütezeit der Astrometeorologie: J. Stöfflers Prognose für das Jahr 1524 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Meteorologie, no. 1, pp. 5–102), Berlin, 1914.

[4] Epistola Cantabrigiensis cujusdam anonymi de misero Ecclesiae statu, printed in O. Gratius, Fasciculus Rerum Expetendarum, Appendix by Brown, vol. II, 1690, pp. 637 ff.

[5] In 1509; see R. Reuss in Revue de l'histoire des religions, 1905.

to classical and Jewish antiquity, and the same vehicle of propaganda was sedulously plied in the controversies of Christendom, particularly during the Reformation period. One of these, written at Venice in 1509, purported to be a letter of Christ to Julius II.[1] In 1523 Urban Rhegius composed a celestial letter of indulgence, as if written by Christ in heaven to point out the true method of dispensing his grace as contrasted with the deceptive indulgences of the pope. Still more famous was the 'Mandate of Jesus Christ to all his faithful Christians,' a sermon on repentance composed by Nicholas Herman as if coming from Christ himself, and published in this very year, 1524.[2] The same year produced 'A Challenge from Lucifer to Luther.'[3] Though such pious fictions were not intended to deceive, they doubtless contributed to the superstitious tastes of a credulous age. Nor were the vulgar the only believers in signs and wonders. Although in this Erasmian dialogue Sir Thomas More is represented as mocking at such beliefs, and although his Utopia shows that in early life he was skeptical and enlightened, he later came to give credit to tales of miracles performed at shrines, in particular to the story of the cure of a daughter of Sir Roger Wentworth by 'Our Lady of Ipswich.'[4] He composed, however, a number of epigrams ridiculing astrology.[5]

When, therefore, Erasmus wished to do something to combat the rising tide of superstition, it was not unnatural for him to use a story of More's early life which he had heard from one of his English friends. The names of the interlocutors in this dialogue, Thomas and Anselm, give a clue to the way in which the story reached Erasmus. Thomas is probably Grey, one of the pupils to whom he had been most devotedly attached during the Paris days, and with whom he had kept up constant inter-

[1] Sanuto, Diarii, IV, 567 f.; Pastor, Geschichte der Päpste, 7th ed., 1924, III, 772, note. I owe this reference to Mr. Ferguson.

[2] 'Himmels- und Teufelsbrief,' Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, III, 30; and bibliography in Folk-Lore, XXVIII (1917), 318 ff. This last reference I owe to Professor G. L. Hamilton.

[3] Reprinted by O. Clemen in his Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation, III, 1909.

[4] 'A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More'; Workes, 1557, pp. 123 ff., 147.

[5] Mori Opera, 1689, pp. 239, 249.

course ever since. We find Grey visiting him at Louvain in 1518,[1] and again at Basle in 1525.[2] Moreover Grey knew intimately More's father-in-law, Colt, who figures in this colloquy; their estates lay adjacent in Essex.[3] But it is noticeable that the man who tells the story is not Grey but Anselm, which indicates that Grey's informant had been the person masquerading under the latter name. Though there were several Anselms known to Erasmus, the pseudonym here was probably suggested by the name of the famous Archbishop of Canterbury, and points to the Archbishop of Canterbury at the time the events here recounted occurred (1498), namely Cardinal John Morton. That distinguished prelate and statesman, who died on October 12, 1500, was an intimate friend of the persons introduced under fictitious names in the dialogue, especially of Thomas More. As a boy More had been admitted into his household and had taken part in the plays given before him, thereby so pleasing the prelate by his "wit and towardness" that the old man had prophesied his future greatness.[4] More speaks of him with great reverence and affection both in his History of Richard III [5] and in the Utopia, especially noting that he delighted to prove the wit and presence of mind [6] of every man. It was Morton who sent the young man to Oxford, and then in 1496 to Lincoln's Inn to study law. That the two kept up their friendship may be inferred from the fact that in speaking of him in the Utopia More dates the acquaintance of the speaker with Morton after the rebellion of the West. As by this he meant the Cornish rising suppressed at Blackheath on June 22, 1497, we may gather that the intercourse between the two was kept up during the period mentioned in this colloquy. That Morton knew the Colts also is probable from the fact that they held of him their manor of Netherhall in Essex.[7]

[1] Allen, epp. 827, 829; and cf. Allen, I, 174.

[2] Allen, epp. 1624 and 1641.

[3] Allen, ep. 829 and notes.

[4] Roper's Life of More, init.

[5] Workes, 1557, p. 70; and on this Delcourt, La Langue de Sir T. More, pp. 388 ff.

[6] "Quid ingenii et animi praesentiam," Utopia, ed. G. Sampson and A. Guthkelch, 1910, p. 353.

[7] Calendar of Inquisitions of Henry VII, I, 1040.

That he took an interest in cases of witchcraft, magic, and dealings with the devil, and tried them, is known.[1] There is, then, every reason to believe that he may have had personal knowledge of the events described in this colloquy, that he related them to Grey, and that Grey passed the story on to Erasmus. That the humanist himself did not participate in the exorcism is clear from its date (1498, before Erasmus came to England), as well as inferable from other slight indications.

The story is this. One day, as a party including the speaker were riding to Richmond, a certain Polus, the son-in-law of Faunus, in order to play a joke on the company pretended to see a fiery dragon in the sky. Though the others at first denied that they could see anything, they were finally persuaded by him that they could see the portent; and the rumor of this spread all over England. One of the firmest believers in the false report was another Faunus, not the father-in-law of Polus, who was dead, but a foolish priest. To mock his credulity Polus and his son-in-law, "a youth of wondrous jocund spirit, not abhorring such foolishness," instructed Faunus how to exorcize an evil spirit from one of the company who pretended to be possessed. This he did by drawing a great circle on the ground and on a dark night standing in it and reciting a spell. In the meantime Polus's son-in-law got himself up as a cacodemon, appeared to the priest Faunus on that night, and frightened out of him certain scandalous secrets about his private life. That he was not hurt by the cacodemon Faunus explained by the virtue of his circle, which, he was firmly convinced, was too powerful for any demon to break through. The mummery kept on at an accelerated pace until finally the jokers ended it by writing a letter purporting to be sent by the dead Faunus to the living one. This letter, dated "the Empyrean Heaven, September 13, 1498," assured the superstitious priest of the success of his charms and of his own future happy place in heaven next to St. Augustine.

The key to the interpretation of the names in this dialogue lies in the word "Polus," which in Greek means "colt" and

[1] C. Jenkins, 'Cardinal Morton's Register,' Tudor Studies presented to A. F. Pollard, 1924, pp. 71 ff.

which here points, not, as hitherto believed,[1] to Thomas More, but to his father-in-law, John Colt, who died on October 22, 1521. More, then, appears in the dialogue as the youth of wondrous jocund spirit who married Polus's (Colt's) eldest daughter. That Polus could not have been More is moreover proved by the statement in the colloquy that Polus loved hunting and hawking, whereas More's dislike of "the silly and woful beasts' slaughter and murder" [2] was notorious. That More was really the youth who masqueraded as a cacodemon so as to scare the superstitious priest, is not only proved by the facts given in this colloquy, but receives some confirmation from a passage in one of Sir Thomas's own works. Great emphasis is laid in the colloquy on the exorcist's reliance on his magic circle. In his Dialogue concerning Heresies,[3] More relates that necromancers "put their trust in circles, within which they think themselves sure against all the devils in hell," and adds that the clergy are commonly believed to be addicted to these superstitions, though necromancy is forbidden by God. Here we may have a reminiscence of his experience with Faunus. The horse-play was exactly in the spirit of the young More, who ever enjoyed a practical joke. Erasmus and Roper [4] both tell of the parts he would take in acting comedies while in the household of Morton, and at a later date one of More's servants, Walter Smith, wrote and published a book called 'Twelve Merry Jests of one called Edyth,' which really describes the jolly doings in the household of his master.[5]

Why the name Faunus is given in this colloquy to two persons (Colt's father-in-law and the exorcist) is more difficult to say. John Colt married twice, the first time Mary, daughter of Sir John Alne, by whom he had no issue, and the second time Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Eldrington, by whom he had

[1] So, for instance, by Allen, ep. 287, and by J. B. Pineaud, Érasme, sa pensée religieuse, 1923, p. 206.

[2] Utopia, bk. ii, Bohn's ed., p. 129; cf. W. H. Hutton, Life of More, p. 47.

[3] Workes, 1557, pp. 120 f. As the Dialogue was written in 1528, a literary dependence on the colloquy would be possible, but it is very unlikely.

[4] Erasmus, ep. 999, lines 113 ff.; Roper, Life of More, 1716, p. 3.

[5] Printed by J. Rastell, 1525: see A. W. Reed, Early Tudor Drama, pp. 148 ff., also pp. 100 and 140.

two sons and five daughters,[1] of whom the eldest, Jane, married Sir Thomas More. As the name Faunus does not seem to be a translation of either of these names, and as it cannot have been derived from the John Fawne [2] known to Erasmus, it was doubtless chosen with mythological import, as that of a rustic deity who revealed the future by strange sounds made in the woods, and who was also called Fatuus, or 'Fool.'

In spite of some apparent difficulties it is best to accept the date of the events described in the colloquy as 1498. If Cardinal Morton participated in them, they must have taken place before his death in 1500. He can be traced at Westminster, near by, on November 15, 1498.[3] It is no real objection to this date that the name Richmond is mentioned, which was not given to the town of Shene until the fifteenth year of Henry VII (1499–1500),[4] for the place would naturally be spoken of by its current and not by its earlier name. Nor does it seem to be a weighty objection to the date that More, whose marriage is usually thought to have taken place some years later, in 1505, is spoken of as Colt's son-in-law. Apart from the possibility that the marriage may have really been somewhat earlier,[5] it is surely natural to speak of a person in the relation in which we know him now, and not always strictly as he was at the time of a given event. One might naturally say, "I met President Wilson in 1907," though we all know that he was not president at that time. Furthermore, even though Thomas were not married in 1498, he may have been contemplating the match. We have his own word for it that he was in love at the age of sixteen [6] (say in 1494), and a somewhat long courtship of the Colt girls is implied by the fact that he loved first one and then another of them.

[1] G. F. R. Colt, History and Genealogy of the Colts of that Ilk, 1887, p. 232.

[2] Allen, II, 329.

[3] Jenkins, 'Cardinal Morton's Register,' p. 40.

[4] Hall's Chronicle, 1809, p. 491; Victoria History of Surrey, 1911, III, 533; and Allen, ep. 287, where Erasmus in 1514 speaks of Richmond.

[5] Margaret, Sir Thomas's eldest daughter, is described as a girl of nineteen in 1524, in her translation of Erasmus's Treatise on the Pater Noster printed in that year.

[6] His poem to his first love "Eliza," written when he met her twenty-five years later, is extant.

In 'The Alchemist' we find another polemic against a prevalent superstition in a story which apparently came to Erasmus from England. At any rate the one local allusion, that to the "*Virgo quae Paraliis colitur*," points to the Virgin of Walsingham, for *Paralia* is an exact equivalent for her common epithet *parathalassia*, or 'by the sea.' It is impossible to identify the fraudulent alchemist with any individual, even at that time when Trithemius and H. C. Agrippa and Faust and Nostradamus were active. Paracelsus, who lived for a while at Basle, came into conflict with Erasmus, and was defamed as an alchemist, might be taken as the model did not chronological considerations forbid. For Paracelsus returned from Italy in 1525, lived at Tübingen, Freiburg, and Strassburg in 1526, and migrated to Basle late in 1526 or early in 1527, to be appointed city physician for the term March 16 to December 27, 1527.[1]

But Erasmus had already mocked at alchemy and the transmutations of metals in the 'Praise of Folly' (1511)[2]; he returned to the same subject in the 'Institution of Christian Marriage' (1526);[3] and there were plenty of obscure astrologers at Basle, any one, or several, of whom may have been in the mind of Erasmus in writing his satire. There was Rudolf Huseneck, who had a large library of works on astrology and alchemy, kept a monkey in his house, and professed to summon spirits from the deep and to find lost treasure. Though banished for forgery in 1512, he settled in Strassburg and continued to keep in touch with the Town Council of Basle, which still found use for his services.[4] Then there was George Glaser, who appears in the records in 1520 and the following years as a stargazer and astrologer and quack doctor. Another astrologer known by name was Caspar Kolb; and still another, who, since he cast the horoscopes of Bruno and Boniface Amerbach, must

[1] A. Burckhardt, 'Wie lange und in welcher amtlichen Stellung war Paracelsus in Basle?' Correspondenzblatt für Schweitzer Aerzte, XLIV (1914), 356 ff. E. Radl, 'Paracelsus,' Isis, I (1913), 62 ff. And two letters of Paracelsus to Boniface Amerbach, February 28, and March 4, 1528, in Paracelsus' Sämtliche Werke, W. K. Sudhoff, VI (1922), 34 ff.

[2] Opera, 1703, IV, 442.

[3] Opera, V, 663. And cf. H. Kopp, Die Alchemie, 1886, I, 228.

[4] Wackernagel, III, 259.

have been known to Erasmus, was Nicholas Bruckner.[1] And near by in Zürich there was Conrad Heingartner.[2] It has been asserted, on rather slender grounds, that this colloquy is the source of Ben Jonson's play of the same name.[3]

The next dialogue, the *Hippoplanus*, tells how a horse-dealer, with whom the speaker stood on terms of friendship, sold to the speaker a horse needed for a journey, which at first seemed to be a very good animal but turned out to be a very poor one, and how the rogue had then been served with his own sauce by having the same nag resold to him at an advanced price. Here Erasmus seems to be relating one of his own experiences, doubtless embellished and somewhat highly colored. If we may draw a not very hazardous inference from a recently published letter of Henry Eppendorf to the humanist, Eppendorf was the original of the horse-trader. He was a Saxon who pretended to be of noble family and was educated at Leipzig. His visit to Erasmus at Louvain in July 1520 led to a friendship which continued to be fairly warm until among others he went with the humanist on a visit to Constance in September 1522. Soon after this his alliance with Hutten caused a break with Erasmus, and the quarrel grew more and more bitter until the elder man came to see the young Saxon's hand in most of the machinations of his enemies. He wrote several pamphlets against him, and satirized him frequently and savagely in the Colloquies.[4] Now in a letter to Eppendorf from Erasmus, recently published by Mr. Allen, and assigned to June 1523,[5] the writer defends his own servants from the charge of defaming his correspondent in some matter connected with a horse, and this probably refers to the same business written up in the *Hippoplanus*. Some of the words used in the letter and the dialogue are the same;[6] moreover, the facts that the horse-

[1] Wackernagel, III, 296.

[2] H. E. Sigerist, 'C. Heingartner de Zurich et la médecine astrologique au XV^e siècle,' Comptes rendus du 2^e Congrès international d'histoire de la Médecine, 1922.

[3] John D. Rea, preface to his edition of Volpone, 1919, p. xxv.

[4] On Eppendorf, Allen, IV, 303, and P. Smith, Erasmus, pp. 383 ff.

[5] Ep. 1371.

[6] The same puns on 'equus' and 'eques'; the same use of the word 'deierare' twice in both.

cheat is said to have been the victim's friend, and that the journey is alluded to, together with the dates of the letter and the dialogue, all point to the conclusion that under false pretences Eppendorf had sold Erasmus a horse as they were starting out for Constance. The most decisive proof, however, is that the title of the colloquy, *Hippoplanus*, recalls the way in which the Saxon is referred to elsewhere, as Planodorpius in one letter [1] and as ἱππεὺς ἄνιππος in another colloquy.[2] Indeed, the word Hippoplanus might be translated either 'Horse-cheat' or 'Wandering Knight,' and in the second case would be another fling at Eppendorf's knightly pretensions. The interlocutors in the dialogue are Aulus (probably Erasmus, as before) and Phaedrus, the 'clever,' who is doubtless one of the servants of whom the young Saxon complained. Erasmus's letter to Eppendorf also mentions Margaret (Büsslin), his housekeeper, who appears as the servant in the colloquy *Convivium Poeticum*.[3]

Sixteenth-century Europe was overrun with beggars of all sorts. The *Liber Vagatorum*, first published in 1510 and often reprinted, described their ways. The city governments were taking strong measures to deal with pauperism and vagabondage. The humanist Vives was about to write his *De Subventione Pauperum* (1526), the first systematic treatise on poor-relief. Erasmus paid his respects to the trade of mendicancy in his 'Beggars' Dialogue,' which comes next in the order of the colloquies. It represents two tramps, Irides ('Son of Irus,' the beggar of the Odyssey), and Misoponus ('Hate-work') discussing their means of livelihood. Misoponus tells among other things how he has deceived people by pretending to be able to make silver by alchemic process, his whole secret being that he first hides some silver in a lump of charcoal, so that when the charcoal burns away, the precious metal is left. The same fraud is told by Chaucer in his 'Chanoun's Yemannes Tale'; and as it has not been found elsewhere, it has been assumed that Erasmus got it from Chaucer.[4] Certainly he could not have

[1] Allen, V, 548. [2] See below, pp. 49 f.

[3] A quite different story of a horse-cheat in Vitry's Exampla, no. 193.

[4] H. de Vocht, 'Chaucer and Erasmus,' Englische Studien, XLI (1910), 385. The same theme is used effectively in D. Merejkowski, The Romance of Leo-

obtained it directly, for his knowledge of English was too slight; but there is good reason to suppose that he may have heard it from one of his English friends, possibly from Thomas Grey. It is interesting to note that Pico della Mirandola, an author known to Erasmus, says in his tract De Auro that the making of gold is possible.[1]

In 'The Fabulous Feast' Erasmus introduces us to a motley company, of whom none can be identified except his famulus Livinus Algoet, also called by the names Omnibonus, Panagathus, and Goethals. The others figure as Polymythus ('Teller-of-many-tales'), Gelasinus ('Laugher'), Eutrapelus ('Ready-with-repartee'), Astaeus ('Witty'), Philythlus ('Gossip'), Philogelos ('Laughter-loving'), Euglottus ('Smooth-tongued'), Lerochares ('Nonsensical'), and Adolesches ('Prater'). They tell one another a number of anecdotes, of which the first two or three recount how sharpers had outwitted tradesmen. Then comes a story of Louis XI of France, who had rewarded the devotion of a rustic by giving him a thousand crowns for a fine turnip. A courtier, thinking to profit by similar liberality, then gave the king a horse, with the expectation of a proportional reward. Louis, however, who was nobody's fool, presented him with the turnip, remarking that that ought to satisfy anybody, as he had himself paid a thousand crowns for it. Another story tells how a courtier picked a louse off King Louis and was rewarded with a handsome present. A second courtier, with the incident in mind, on another day pretended to pick a flea off the king. The king, however, again saw through the stratagem, accused the courtier of "making a dog of him," and gave him forty stripes instead of forty crowns. A third anecdote of the same king tells how, after offering a prize for the most faithful service that should be done him, he finally awarded it to the only one of his servants who did not claim it. The shrewdness of Louis XI in selecting his officers is illustrated in another tale.

nardo da Vinci, 1902, p. 92. The same method of pretending to make gold is described in a memoir presented to the French Académie des Sciences in 1722 by Geoffroy l'aîné, quoted in R. Jagnaux, Histoire de la Chimie, 1891, I, 12. I owe this reference to Professor Fritz Paneth of the University of Berlin.

[1] Johannis Francisci Mirandulae Comitis De Auro, 1586, pp. 48 ff.

I have searched for these tales in many of the chronicles of Louis's reign and in the later histories known to Erasmus. I have also looked in Aesop, Jacques de Vitry, and Étienne de Bourbon, in the tales of the Arabs,[1] and in Rabelais. All my search, however, has failed to discover the stories elsewhere, except in the *Wissbadisch Wisenbrünlein* of Michael Caspar Lundorf, who borrowed them from Erasmus,[2] and for one of them in Grimm's Fairy Tales, also doubtless borrowed from this colloquy.[3] Erasmus might have got these tales not from literary sources but from what he had heard; for he had arrived in Paris in 1495, just twelve years after Louis's death, and perhaps was told the ancedotes by someone at that time, or by one of his courtier friends later. In his student days he knew Gaguin, the royal historian of France, as well as some humbler servants of the court, such as Gentil Garçon, the pursuivant of Charles VIII.[4] It is interesting to notice that Gaguin in his history of France tells several anecdotes to illustrate the wit of Louis XI, and also censures him for neglecting the dignity and decorum of his rank.[5] Possibly he thought certain stories beneath the style of his grave history, and told them instead to Erasmus. But this conjecture would not account so well for the anecdotes of the emperor Maximilian I and of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, which are found in this dialogue. For these Erasmus, as a Hollander by birth, would be likely to have local traditions.

[1] Some early collections analysed in V. Chauvin, Bibliographie des Ouvrages arabes, 10 vols., 1892–1909.

[2] They occur in this work, published in 1610, part II, nos. 52 ff. See R. Köhler, Kleinere Schriften, III (1900), 72. I owe this reference to Professor George L. Hamilton.

[3] Kinder- und Hausmärchen, 1912, I, 95, no. 20, 'Die Rube.'

[4] Allen, ep. 55.

[5] Roberti Gaguini, De Francorum Gestis Libri X, 1498, folios 139 ff. There is nothing to the point in Gaguin's Epistolae et Orationes, ed. by L. Thuasne, 1904. I must thank Professor G. L. Michaud of the University of Michigan for looking into the matter for me, though without positive results. He suggests that perhaps the writings of Jean Le Maire or of Pierre Gringoire would furnish some light.

7. *Froben's Edition of February 1526*

If one considers the Colloquies with reference to the amount of liberal religious instruction and anti-clerical doctrine contained in them, it is noticeable that they rise to a crescendo towards the middle years and then drop off again in a diminuendo. The high-water mark is certainly given by the edition of February 1526. Nowhere else did Erasmus so belabor the most lucrative abuses and the most popular superstitions of the Catholic Church as in the four new dialogues therein contained. It is remarkable that the man now in conflict with Luther should have still felt so strongly that the enemy of sound religion was to be found not in the new, but in the old, church. Luther and Zwingli are mentioned with approval, and pilgrimages, fasting, ceremonies, and the worship of saints are held up to derision. The tone of the writing was largely colored by the environment. Even before the Reformation Basle had been rendered strongly anti-clerical by her Oecumenical Council, by humanism, and by struggles with her suzerain, the bishop. Now that the Reformation was conquering the city, Erasmus himself was all but swept into its current.

The first of the new colloquies, 'The Child-bearer,' touches least on religious matters. As another discussion of feminism, it draws from Euripides [1] the assertion that it is easier to fight ten battles than to bear one baby, and from Aulus Gellius [2] the advice that women should suckle their own children. In other passages it reminds us of Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim,[3] and of Erasmus's own Institute of Christian Matrimony, published in 1526.[4] There is also woven into the plot an argument on the nature of the soul which recalls the author's controversy with Beda on the same subject.[5] A gloomy view of

[1] Medea.

[2] Noctes Atticae, xii. 1; Pineaud, p. 204.

[3] The argument that woman is more perfect than man because God made her last and artists improve in their work, is made much of by Agrippa, whose De Nobilitate et Praeexcellentia feminei sexus (Opera, II, 513 ff.) was first published in 1529, though written twenty years earlier. The child in Erasmus's colloquy is named Cornelius after its grandfather.

[4] Opera, 1703, V, 613 ff.; cf. especially 677 ff.

[5] Erasmi Opera, 1703, IX. 686.

contemporary politics, due to the wars between France and the Empire, the Peasants' Revolt, the Turkish invasion, and the exile of King Christian of Denmark, brings before our eyes the whole situation of Europe. With an allusion to the bull *Exsurge Domine* the author points out that the Lord's vineyard is wasted by more boars than one, and mentions especially the collapse of the monastic life and the sacramentarian controversy.[1]

That famous essay, 'Pilgrimage,' recounts Erasmus's own journeys to the shrines of St. Thomas of Canterbury and Our Lady of Walsingham. The interlocutors are Menedemus, the 'stay-at-home' minder of his own business, and Ogygius, the 'primaeval' champion of an obsolete form of piety. As full justice has been done by others to this particular colloquy, and most of its historical allusions explained,[2] I confine my remarks to the elucidation of a few points. Erasmus's companion, John Colet, is here given the name Gratianus Pullus, which is a Latin rendering of his two names, John meaning 'grace' in Hebrew, and Colet being pronounced 'colt.' The sarcastic comments on the amount of the Virgin's milk preserved after fifteen centuries, more than she could ever have given had her udders been as large as a cow's, made sufficient impression on Calvin to be reproduced in one of his works.[3]

A literary source for the sarcasm against the monks with wry necks (*torto collo*) may have been a poem of Janus Pannonius entitled *Galeotti peregrinationem irridet*, but on the other hand both authors may have drawn on a common jest, which was later used again by Rabelais.[4]

At one point in the narrative another of those celestial letters, similar to the one in the 'Exorcism,' is introduced. This

[1] Close parallels to this in a letter of July 2, 1525 (Allen, ep. 1584), perhaps give us the date at which the colloquy was written.

[2] J. G. Nichols's translation of Erasmus's Pilgrimages to St. Mary of Walsingham and St. Thomas of Canterbury, 2nd ed., 1875. On Aldridge, with whom Erasmus made the pilgrimage to Walsingham, see Allen, ep. 1656.

[3] Pineaud, p. 228.

[4] Léon Dorez, 'Rabelaesiana,' Revue des Bibliothèques, XIV (1904), 140 ff. The poems of Pannonius were published at Basle by Froben in 1518. Whether this particular poem was in that edition Dorez has not ascertained.

time it purports to come from Mary the Mother of Jesus, and is addressed to Glaucoplutus and dated "Basle,[1] August 1, 1524." The content of the missive is to thank Glaucoplutus for following Luther in convincing the world that the invocation of the saints is unnecessary, for Mary herself has been annoyed by receiving such prayers as a young man would hardly venture to address to a bawd. The interest of the letter lies partly in the identification of Glaucoplutus. This name is certainly intended as the Greek equivalent of Ulrich, as if the latter were derived from 'owl' and 'rich' (in the writer's own Dutch tongue *uil* and *rijk*). In like manner he had elsewhere translated Heinrich von Eppendorf into 'Ornithoplutus ab Isocomo,' letting *hein* or *hahn* stand for *ornis*, *rich* for *plutus*, *eben* or *eppen* for *isos*, and *dorf* for *komos*.[2] The person for whom Glaucoplutus stands in this colloquy is undoubtedly Ulrich Zwingli, who had recently published a sermon against mariolatry.[3] The date of the letter, which may be accepted as that of the colloquy, shows that it was written just before the *De libero arbitrio* was published, and on the same day on which Erasmus wrote his dedication to Erasmius Froben of the preceding edition of the Colloquies. This was only ten months after the humanist had written a liturgy for Our Lady of Loretto.[4]

The long colloquy Ἰχθυοφαγία, or 'Fish-eating,' brings into a single chat between a Butcher and a Salt-fish Monger a vast miscellany of stories and allusions. The primary object, to ridicule the superstition of fasting, is at times almost lost sight of among the other topics introduced. A reference to the recent geographical discoveries leads to the remark of how small a portion of the world as depicted on the map is inhabited by Christians, and to the suggestion that in order to convert the heathen it would be well for missionaries to relax the papal

[1] "Augst," a Roman town very near Basle; on the excavation of it in 1510 see Wackernagel, III, 218.

[2] Opera, 1703, II, 350.

[3] Dated September 17, 1522. Zwinglis Werke, I, 385 ff. Erasmus says that he intended a satire on the Zwinglians, Opera, IX, 948.

[4] Virginis Matris apud Lauretum cultae Liturgia; Introduction; Allen, ep. 1391.

ceremonial law, in the same way that the apostles had diminished the severity of the Jewish laws in order to win their first converts. Again, the author discusses the captivity of the king of France, and tries to read a lesson in magnanimity and peaceful wisdom to his conqueror Charles by proposing that Francis be freed without other condition than that of living in perpetual amity with his rival. The policy of the new pope, Clement VII, is also discussed, as are the difficulties in the way of calling a council, since some people (the Lutherans) have rejected the councils of Constance and Basle. Allusions to contemporaries are thinly veiled under such names as Pharetrius (William Farel), Lemantius, or 'Bleareyed' (Egmond),[1] Cephalus (Capito), and Amphicholus 'the Lame' (Latomus).[2]

Then come stories of persons who have suffered from adhering too strictly to the church rules. Polythrescus ('Very Superstitious') has injured his health by fasting; a nun allowed herself to be raped rather than break the monastic rule against crying out at certain times — a story to which Erasmus returned in another work.[3] The author next weaves into his variegated pattern an account of the barbecue held by the Reformers at Basle on Palm Sunday, April 13, 1522, when their party had made itself conspicuous by carrying too far the new liberty of meats and drinks.

A little later comes the tale of Eros, an old man who, when on a visit to his friend Glaucoplutus at Eleutheropolis (Freiburg), had been unjustly accused of eating meat on Friday, and persecuted therefor. Eros here stands for Erasmus, and Glaucoplutus for Ulrich Zasius; the whole story is recounted from

[1] The "lippiens theologus" mentioned in Allen, I, 9.

[2] Egmond and Latomus were two theological enemies of Erasmus resident at Louvain. The humanist explains elsewhere that Egmond was blear-eyed from drinking and that Latomus was lame because he had sprained his ankles escaping hastily when taken in adultery. See his letter to Jonas, Allen, ep. 1088, and two anonymous pamphlets, of which the first, S. Nicolai Vita, is by a friend of Erasmus (Zwinglis Werke, ed. Egli, Finsler, and Köhler, VII, 396) and the second, Dialogus Chonradi Nastadtiensis, is by Erasmus himself. This very rare pamphlet I quote from the copy in the British Museum; I owe the reference to Mr. W. K. Ferguson, who is preparing it for a new edition.

[3] Ecclesiastes, Opera, V, 860 (1535). He there says he had heard the tale as a boy at Deventer. A somewhat similar story is in Rabelais, II, 19.

a different point of view and with noticeable variations, in a letter from Erasmus to Zasius which he never thought it prudent to publish.[1] The most often quoted and hence best known part of the colloquy is the description of the hardships of life at Montaigu College (here called 'Vinegar College,' *cui cognomen ab aceto*), for which, of course, Erasmus drew on his own early reminiscences.

The fourth and last of the colloquies published for the first time in this edition, 'The Funeral,' satirizes the monks' practice of frightening dying men into leaving them legacies. None of the examples of this abuse here related can be exactly identified, but some of the personages who appear can be discovered. Bernardine, the warden of the Franciscans at Basle, perhaps represents Alexander Müller, or Molitor, who then held that position.[2] Vincent the Dominican is certainly the writer's enemy Vincent Theodorici, or Dierx. Perhaps Bacon drew from it in his second essay on Death, usually printed as an appendix to his Essays.

8. *Froben's Edition of June 1526*

The next redaction of the Colloquies had in it but one new piece, and that a short one. 'Echo' is one of those exercises in ingenuity which Erasmus loved and occasionally mentioned in his letters. The feat here consists in making Echo answer something appropriate by repeating the last syllables of her companion's utterance. The following just comment on the author's success, or want of it, was made by Addison:[3]

> I find likewise in ancient times the conceit of making Echo talk sensibly and give rational answers. . . . The learned Erasmus, though a man of wit and genius, has composed a dialogue upon this silly kind of device, and made use of an echo who seems to have been a very extraordinary linguist; for she answers the persons she talks with in Latin, Greek, or Hebrew, according as she found the syllables which she was to repeat in any of those learned languages.

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[1] March 23, 1523, Allen, ep. 1353. On the interpretation of Glaucoplutus as Ulrich, see above, p. 41. Permission to eat meat on fast-days was granted to Erasmus on February 2, 1525, by Campeggio; Allen, ep. 1542.

[2] Pellikan's Chronikon, p. 82.

[3] The Spectator, no. 59, May 8, 1711.

This edition also contained a long letter, 'On the Utility of the Colloquies,' defending the work against current attacks.

9. *Froben's Edition of 1527*

The following year gave to the light two more dialogues, neither of them yielding much of historical interest. The first, Πολυδαιτία, or 'The Large Banquet' treats of the art of entertaining guests at dinner, the interlocutors being Spudaeus ('Earnest'), and Apitius ('Epicure'). The second, 'On Things and Words' treats of reality and seeming, in a conversation between Beatus Rhenanus and Boniface Amerbach. An unflattering picture of the knights of Sicambria (Cleves-Jülich) may be a slap at Eppendorf.

10. *Cervicorn's Edition of 1528*

After John Froben's death (October 1527), though his firm continued the business of publishing, Erasmus's relations with it were somewhat loosened. Accordingly when a new edition of the Colloquies, greatly augmented, was printed in 1528, under the title *Familiarium Colloquiorum Opus*, the publisher was Eucharius (otherwise Cervicorn, or Harzhorn) of Cologne. Most of the new material relates to personal experiences of the author, a good deal of it to the quarrel with Henry von Eppendorf.

The first dialogue, however, entitled 'Charon,' is a conversation between the ferryman of the Styx and Alastor, the avenging daemon of the Greeks who had become in Christian mythology Beelzebub's executioner. The subject was the favorite one, not then as now trite, of the wickedness and folly of war. Living at a time when the warrior was glorified and when international hatred in Europe seems to have been as strong as today, Erasmus tirelessly preached the brotherhood of man and the splendor of peace. As an exponent of the international mind, not caring to claim citizenship in any country but preferring to be a sojourner in and a friend to all, Erasmus regarded patriotism as no more than a splendid vice. He saw through the excuses for war and the pretence of the holiness of wars:

The French preach that God sustains France, and that they cannot be conquered while they have God as protector. The English and Spanish proclaim that this war is waged not by Caesar but by God, and that if they only show courage victory is certain.

This impartial censure of all belligerents gave offence. The Spanish humanist, Juan de Valdés, instantly wrote a reply under the title, 'Dialogue between Mercury and Charon,' defending the policy of the emperor and blaming his enemies for all the bloodshed.[1] Whether the supposed criticism of the emperor had anything to do with the prohibition in this same year of the translation by Vives of eight colloquies into Spanish,[2] I cannot decide.

'The Synod of Grammarians' is a satire on the Sorbonne, with which body, and particularly with its theologians Natalis Beda, William Du Chesne (a Quercu), and Peter Couturier (Sutor) Erasmus had long been at swords' points. Already in the Colloquiorum Formulae of 1522 there were sarcasms aimed at these three. For years the warfare of pens and of politics — for Erasmus was protected by a party at court — continued to rage. After censuring some of the humanist's works in 1524, the Sorbonne condemned the Colloquies on May 16, 1526, for many heretical and scandalous opinions alleged to be found in them, and forbade the sale of them in Paris.[3] Though the author heard that the sale of the book was rather helped than hurt by this action,[4] he replied with elaborate apologies both in published works [5] and in private letters. He also inserted in

[1] Diálogo de Mercurio y Caron, written 1528; published in Romanische Studien, VI, 1895. That this was a reply to Erasmus has not been pointed out before. I have considered and rejected the probability that Erasmus's 'Charon' was dependent on G. Sauermann's Hispaniae Consolatio, 1520, on which see R. B. Merriman, Spanish Empire, III, 59 f.

[2] Allen, ep. 1684. On the prohibition of the translation in 1535, see Bataillon in Bulletin Hispanique, XVII, 1925.

[3] Duplessis d'Argentré, Collectio judiciorum, 1728, II, part I, pp. 47ff.

[4] In a letter to Alphonso Valdés, March 21, 1529, Erasmus states that he had heard that the mere rumor of the prohibition had caused the printer Simon de Colines to bring out an edition of 24,000. Doubt is cast on the accuracy of the report in the Bibliotheca Erasmiana, Colloquia, I, 185 ff.

[5] Ad censuras Facultatis Theologiae Parisiensis, Opera, IX, 820 ff.; other writings against Beda and Sutor in the same volume. Allen, epp. 1571, 1697, 1721–23, 1763.

the next edition of the Colloquies a trenchant satire on his enemies in the form of a discussion between seven theologians as to the meaning of the word *Anticomarita*. The only interlocutor brought in under his own name is Hilary Bertholf, who, having recently returned from Paris, might be supposed to have brought the report. The other speakers are Albinus ('Whitewasher'), Canthelus ('Ass'), Diphilus ('Mongrel'), Eumenius ('Kindly,' or, like Eumenides, 'Fury'), Fabullus ('Gossip'), and Gaditanus ('Spaniard').

The choice of a subject is explained by the author as follows:[1]

> In the Synod of Grammarians I ridicule the attainments of a certain Carthusian, very learned in his own opinion, who, though he is accustomed to rage stupidly against Greek, has now given his book a Greek title, but an absurd one, calling those Anticomaritae whom he ought to call Antimariani or Antidicomariani.

In the latter part of the fourth century there had been heretics called by Epiphanius Antidicomarianites because they were regarded as enemies of the Virgin Mary. They denied that Mary's virginity was perpetual, and held that after the birth of Jesus she bore children to Joseph.[2] In the sixteenth century the controversy had been revived and a hand taken in it by Lefèvre d'Étaples, Clichtove, and other Parisian theologians; and in the course of it Peter Sutor had published, in 1526, his *Apologeticum in novos Anticomaritas*. In the last word in this title Erasmus, who elsewhere [3] speaks of Sutor's Latin as deserving the ferule, and of his attempted defence of the Virgin as blasphemy, found the solecism that called forth his mockery. In the 'Synod of Grammarians,' therefore, the interlocutors ask what is the meaning of 'Anticomarita,' and make many nonsensical suggestions, all built on far-fetched etymologies from various languages. After thus satirizing the mare's nests of the theologians, the author comes to the special point of the

[1] Letter to the Reader, 'De Utilitate Colloquiorum,' Epistolae Erasmi, 1642, xxix. 19, dated (wrongly) May 21, 1526.

[2] On these heretics see Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche, s.v. Sir Thomas More speaks of them in his Confutation of Tyndale's Answer, Workes, 1557, p. 489c.

[3] Apologia adversus Debacchationes Petri Sutoris, Opera, IX, 739, 806. The preface to this work is reprinted by Allen, ep. 1591.

satire in a series of puns on the names of his enemies at the Sorbonne.[1] Bertholf is made to say that Anticomarita means "a kind of beet [*beta*, Beda] called swimming [*natatilis*, Natalis] because it dwells in damp, foul places, and flourishes especially in privies . . . and having a twisted, knotty stalk and a nasty stench." Further references to "the gall of the oak" and "the shoe-maker's blacking [*sutorium atramentum*]" carry the allusions to the Gallic Du Chesne and to Peter Sutor. The satire succeeded in pleasing even a Carthusian whose sense of humor was stronger than his esprit de corps.[2]

The dialogue entitled 'The Marriage that is no Marriage' pleads for eugenics to the extent, at least, of forbidding the diseased to marry. One of the speakers, Petronius, tells of a wedding he has attended between a fresh young girl of sixteen and an old rake with a vile disease and abominable habits. Surely it would be kinder, says the author, to sew the girl in a sack and throw her into the Scheldt, than to marry her to such a husband. The doctrine, always needful, was then especially timely because of the epidemic of syphilis which for a generation had swept over Europe. If we could be sure of the exact date of the colloquy it would perhaps be possible to find the occasion for it in a marriage known to the author. The allusion to the Scheldt might suggest that it was written in the days when the author was living in the Netherlands; in that case Hutten might have been the original of the diseased rake here painted.[3] But in fact the picture is a compound portrait, owing something to Hutten, something to Eppendorf,[4] and perhaps something to Thomas Brun,[5] a Carthusian of Basle who had recently left the cloister, married, and contracted

[1] With Erasmus's sarcasms may be compared Kipling's poem against a Yankee pirate, meaning a firm that had pirated his works, containing puns upon the names of three contemporary authors in the words, "Their bezant was hard, ay, and black."

[2] See Livinus Ammonius to Erasmus, July 15, 1529, Enthoven, Briefe an Erasmus, p. 102.

[3] So Drummond, Life of Erasmus, II, 158; and P. Kalkoff, Huttens Vagantenzeit und Untergang, 1925, pp. 11 ff.

[4] The rake's coat-of-arms bears some resemblance to that of Eppendorf.

[5] Basler Chroniken, I, 409.

syphilis. Though Erasmus disliked the marriage of the elderly Oecolampadius to the young Wilibrandis Rosenblatt Keller, in March 1528, and though he satirized the preacher in another dialogue published at this time, we cannot suppose that he had that wedding in mind in writing this colloquy.

The short colloquy called 'The Imposture' is one of those feats of ingenuity which Erasmus loved. In it Livinus Algoet plays exactly the same trick on Philip Montanus, another of the humanist's young friends, that Erasmus once played on Sir Thomas More, addressing him in some verses written as prose and so raising a laugh when he failed to recognize the poetry.

'Cyclops, or the Gospel-bearer' derives its first title from the sobriquet of one of the interlocutors, Felix Rex, also called Polyphemus (which he interpreted as meaning 'very famous') and hence Cyclops.[1] Born at Ghent, he had entered the service first of Froben and then of Erasmus.[2] At first he gained golden words from his master, but his violent and quarrelsome disposition, jocosely alluded to in this colloquy, finally bred a bitter dislike in the heart of the peaceful old man. The young man ended his career in the archers of King Ferdinand as a drunken and brawling soldier. Hence the story told in this dialogue of how he had visited a Franciscan who was preaching against Erasmus's New Testament, had punched his face into a jelly and then given him, with the book he was abusing and by way of absolution, three whacks on the head in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, is probably founded on fact. The Franciscan thus "evangelically" treated may be identified with Francis Titelmann of Hasselt.[3]

Because of some words supposed to reflect on Oecolampadius this colloquy gave so much offence to the Town Council of Basle that the author was summoned before the magistrates to answer for libel. The peccant passage was:

[1] See his letter to Erasmus, March 23, 1529, Förstemann-Günther, ep. 102.

[2] A sketch of him in A. Roersch, L'Humanisme Belge, 1910, pp. 83 ff.

[3] See Förstemann-Günther, ep. 86, and Erasmus's own letter to Hasselt, Epistolae, xix. 18, London, 1642. Erasmus wrote an answer to his attacks in 1529 under the title, Responsio ad collationes cujusdam juvenis Gerontodidascali, Opera, IX, 967.

I know a man with a sheep's head and a fox's heart; I wish that his friends were as white as his eyes are black, and that he himself were as golden as his complexion.

Though the writer's relations with the Reformers were at this time so strained that he was about to depart from the city, he defended himself successfully, though perhaps not truthfully, on the charge of libel by declaring that the words applied not to Oecolampadius but to one of his own famuli.

'Cyclops' contains an interesting reference to the preachers who were predicting the end of the world in the near future. Among several such the most prominent was Melchior Hoffmann, who in a commentary on Daniel published in 1526 set the end of the world for 1533, and carried his ideas abroad by extensive travels not only throughout Germany but as far as Scandinavia, Italy, and Spain.[1]

The next dialogue, called 'Cross Purposes,' is a jeu d'esprit, of which the humor lies in one speaker's inquiring about a wedding and the other's answering about a dangerous voyage. Whether the wedding of Pancratius and Albina here mentioned was suggested by that of any real person, such as of Oecolampadius or Conrad Pellican or his own famulus Harst[2] or Bentinus,[3] cannot be determined. Though parallel passages in the letters sometimes give us the date of composition of the several colloquies, it is hardly safe to infer from Erasmus's use of the word ἀπροσδιόνυσα in a letter to Pellican[4] of about October 1525, that this dialogue, which has that rare Greek word for its title, was then composed.

The colloquy entitled Ἱππεὺς ἄνιππος, or 'The False Knight,' mocks at Henry von Eppendorf because of his unfounded pretentions to noble birth and because of his dissolute life. He had once told Erasmus that he was descended from the noblest

[1] On Hoffmann see Luther's Correspondence, translated by Preserved Smith and C. M. Jacobs, II (1918), 433 f.

[2] On January 8, 1527, Charles Harst married Katharine van der Klusen; Allen, epp. 1768, 1778.

[3] Bentinus, an elderly man, married in the face of Erasmus's expostulation early in 1525; Allen, ep. 1548.

[4] Allen, ep. 1640.

ancestry,[1] but the humanist learned from Mosellanus that he was nothing but a plebeian.[2] There were also stories of his wenching, drinking, and gaming. In the present colloquy, therefore, the false knight, under the name of Harpalus, exposes his own dishonor. The advice given him to marry a rich girl recalls the story told in the previous colloquy, 'The Marriage that is no Marriage,' and confirms our suspicion that he was also the villain of that piece. Moreover this dialogue has many verbal resemblances to what is said of Eppendorf in a letter of Erasmus to Botzheim dated February 1, 1528.[3] The knight in the dialogue, like Eppendorf in the letter, brings his arms to his drinking-bouts, and insists on his two servants addressing him as 'Junker.' About the same time that he was writing this satire, Erasmus added a passage to his Adages (first published in September 1528) ridiculing the Junker Ornithoplutus von Isocomus (Heinrich von Eppendorf, as explained above).[4]

'The Game of Knuckle-bones,' *'Αστραγαλισμός sive Talorum Lusus*, introduces us to another of the humanist's numerous famuli, Quirinus Talesius Hajo, and to Charles Utenhoven, a promising youth.[5] Though the principal subject of conversation is a game with instruments somewhat resembling dice, a few sarcasms are uttered at the expense of the monks who wear robes to their ankles (*ad talos*).

'The Parliament of Women' brings out various aspects of feminism, such as have been perennial since the time of Aristophanes. Catharine's complaint that "whenever my husband Titus wishes to divert the company, he tells them what he does with me at night," reminds the reader of an animadversion on the indecency of such talk to be found in another work of Erasmus.[6]

[1] Allen, ep. 1377.

[2] Allen, ep. 434.

[3] Opera, 1703, III, part II, 1732C and F.

[4] On this P. Smith, Erasmus, pp. 385 f.; and above, p. 41.

[5] On him Förstemann-Günther, p. 498. There were three Hajos, Quirinus, Hermann Frisius, and Hajo Frisius a Caminga.

[6] De Lingua, 1525, Opera, 1703, IV, 686.

11. *The Edition of September 1529, published by the firm of Froben, Hervagius, and Episcopius*

The three new dialogues, first published in September 1529, furnish little of biographical interest. The first, on 'Early Rising,' is a sermon on sloth in the form of a conversation between Nephalius, who may possibly represent Botzheim, the abstemious canon of Constance, and Philypnus, the 'Lover of Sleep.' Among the guests at the 'Sober Banquet' we may perhaps recognize Richard Bartholinus of Perugia, Charles Utenhoven, Emilio Emili of Brescia, and Gerard Lyster. In a third dialogue Erasmus in his own person gives advice to Erasmius Froben, now a boy of thirteen or fourteen, as to the best way of studying literature.

12. *The Edition of September 1531, published by Froben and Episcopius*

The purpose of two of the five new colloquies in this edition was to answer attacks on the writer. In the first, called 'The Sermon, or Merdardus,' two of the famuli, Hilary Bertholf and Levinus Algoet, discuss an invective against Erasmus's exegesis of the Magnificat, delivered by a Franciscan named Medardus at Augsburg during the sessions of the famous Diet in the summer of 1530. The sermon had been heard and disliked by King Ferdinand and his sister Queen Mary of Hungary, as well as by Cardinal Bernard von Cles, bishop of Trent, Balthasar Mercklin, bishop of Constance, and John Faber, bishop of Vienna. Adrian Wiele wrote to the humanist from Augsburg on November 16, 1530, describing the sermon of Medardus von Kirchen, chaplain to the King of Hungary,[1] and perhaps Erasmus received fuller accounts of it from Polyphemus Rex. Wiele puns on the preacher's name as "Mustardicus," and Erasmus changed it to "Merdardus" to connect it with the Latin *merda*, 'dung.'

'The Lover of Glory' sets forth in sixteen maxims the way

[1] Förstemann-Günther, Briefe an Erasmus, no. 142, and note on p. 390. Georg Helts Briefwechsel, ed. O. Clemen, 1907, pp. 27 ff.

to true glory and a good name. That these maxims were drawn from the experience of Erasmus himself is hinted by the introduction of one Pamphilus, and by various references which recall parallel passages in his letters, for example, the remark on the custom of kissing prevalent in England.[1]

The famous dialogue 'Sordid Wealth' is also a defence in the form of an attack. One of the speakers may be recognized as Gilbert Cousin of Nozeroy in Burgundy, who had recently entered the humanist's service as amanuensis and later attained some fame as a Reformer. It is significant that the word used to describe Gilbert's haggard and emaciated appearance, *syphar* (a piece of old, wrinkled skin), is the same that Gilbert applies to Erasmus in his Greek epigram on the humanist.[2]

The colloquy itself is a satire on the miserly habits of a family which may be identified as that of the Venetian printer Aldo Manuzio, with whom Erasmus lived for eight months during the years 1507 and 1508. The cause of this apparently ungracious attack on hosts to whom he elsewhere expressed obligations is to be found in the Ciceronian controversy. Disgusted with the pedantry of the servile imitators of Cicero, Erasmus, after giving several raps in obiter dicta,[3] had declared war on them in a satire, 'The Ciceronian,' first published among the Colloquies in the edition of February 1528, but on account of its great length afterwards printed as a separate brochure. Smarting under the ridicule, several Latinists answered, none of them more bitterly than Julius Caesar Scaliger. Not content with defending the prince of Roman orators, Scaliger made many abominable charges against Erasmus, taunting him especially with gluttony, drunkenness, and parasitism during his stay with Aldo at Venice. Though Scaliger later referred to the humanists John Jucundus and Jerome Dominius as the sources of his information, Erasmus thought he saw in the slanderous gossip the hand of his old friend and recent enemy, Jerome Aleander. This distinguished scholar and diplomat had not only known him at Venice but had shared

[1] For this see his letter to Faustus Andrelinus, 1499, Allen, ep. 103.

[2] Printed in P. Smith, Erasmus, p. 407.

[3] For example, in the colloquy 'Echo.'

his room for six months at that time. When, however, he was appointed papal nuncio to Germany, he turned against his former friend, in whom he now saw a supporter of the Lutheran heresy.

Scaliger's 'Oration for Cicero against Erasmus' was published at Paris in March 1531; it may, as the author asserts, have been sent to the object of its invective at an earlier date in manuscript. Erasmus wished to answer its charges without dignifying their author by notice, and so conceived the idea of this colloquy, in which should be represented the extreme miserliness of his Venetian hosts and their meagre, sordid manner of life. Though immensely rich they used to have for dinner a few shellfish drawn from the sewers, decayed meat cut from the viscera of an ancient cow, two or three leaves of lettuce dressed in vinegar without oil, mouldy bread, and the sourest and most diluted wine. The host is called Antronius, a Greek synonym for 'Ass,' equivalent to the Latin Asinus, and an evident play on the name of Andrea Asolano, Aldo's father-in-law and the head of the firm.[1] Aldo Manuzio himself masquerades under the name of Orthrogonos, compounded of the Greek words for 'dawn,' or 'early morning,' and 'born,' as if Manutius were derived from *mane* and *natus*. Two other members of the Aldine Academy are introduced: Carteromachus under the name of Strategus,[2] and Aleander under that of Verpius, the 'circumcised,' so called in reference to the taunts of the humanists, and of Erasmus himself, that Aleander was a Jew.[3]

The questionable taste of this attack on old benefactors, however great the provocation, need not blind us to the consummate art of the satire. There was enough drama in this short dialogue to furnish Ben Jonson with some of the principal

[1] This pun half-suggested in a letter of Casembrot to Erasmus, August, 1525, Allen, ep. 1594. The same letter gave information about the printing of the Adages which was not likely to please Erasmus.

[2] On Scipio Carteromachus (Fortiguerri) and his acquaintance with Erasmus in Italy, see A. Firmin-Didot, Alde Manuce et l'Hellénisme à Venise, 1875, p. 453; P. de Nolhac, Les Correspondants d'Alde Manuce, 1888, pp. 48, 84.

[3] Aleander was no Jew, but Erasmus calls him one in Allen, ep. 1166, line 85, and often elsewhere.

situations and characters in his Volpone.[1] Is it not, indeed, possible to suspect that the "cheese-monger of Rotterdam" who appears in that play is Erasmus himself as seen through Scaliger's eyes?

'The Seraphic Funeral,' so called from the designation of St. Francis as the Seraphic Doctor, satirizes the custom of the Franciscans of putting their robes on dying people as if thus to facilitate their entry into heaven.[2] The story told is that of one Eusebius of Pelusium, "who from a prince became a private man, from a private man an exile, from an exile not only a beggar,[3] but almost one might say a sycophant," and who finally died in the Franciscan cowl. The man satirized is Alberto Pio, prince of Carpi, who had attacked Erasmus as a Lutheran in 1525. The quarrel was continued in pamphlets until the death of Pio, January 10, 1531, and on the side of the humanist even later. When he was informed that Pio had donned the Franciscan garb three days before his death, he ridiculed the superstitious act not only in this colloquy but in a letter to Pflug of August 20, 1531, and in his Apologia adversus rhapsodias . . . Alberti Pii, 1531. The name Eusebius, in the colloquy, has the same meaning as Pio. Perhaps Pelusium may be translated 'Mud-town,' in allusion to the mud-slinging habits of the man.[4]

The colloquy entitled 'Friendship' is a study of the sympathies and antipathies of animals. In his *Ratio verae theologiae* (1519) Erasmus had recommended the study of nature, first by observation and secondly by reading Aristotle, Theophrastus, Pliny, Macrobius, Lucan, Nicander, and other authorities. This dialogue shows that he followed his own rules, for while he founds his science mainly upon Pliny, supplemented by Plutarch and Aristotle, he describes a number of interesting phenomena which he had himself seen.[5] One story, heard by

[1] See John D. Rea's edition of Volpone in the Yale Jonson, 1919.

[2] The dialogue states that Rudolph Agricola and Christopher Longolius were thus buried.

[3] Reading 'mendicum' for 'medicum' in Erasmi Opera, 1703, XI, 866E.

[4] Erasmi Opera, 1703, III, ep. 1595; Bibliotheca Erasmiana, Admonitio, etc., pp. 157 ff.; my Erasmus, pp. 398 f.; J. J. Mangan, Erasmus, 1926, II, p. 258.

[5] J. Heckmann, 'Die Aeusserungen des D. Erasmus von Rotterdam zur Tierpsychologie,' Renaissance und Philosophie, XIII (1910), 113 ff.

him in England, was of a toad which had fastened itself on a man's mouth in such a way that it could not be withdrawn, but which was killed by a friendly spider. Another, intended to illustrate the antipathy between apes and tortoises, was something he had seen at Rome. A man put a tortoise on his head under his hat; his pet ape leaped to his shoulders to pick lice from his head and, on removing the hat, started away with every sign of horror. Then comes a reminiscence of Sir Thomas More, and of the pet rabbits he kept in a movable cage. One day a weasel started to get them by digging under the cage, but they were saved by a pet monkey, which moved the cage along the ground, and afterwards replaced a plank loosened by the weasel. In a final tale the author recalls his own boyhood and the bad habit of one of his young friends, who, though only eight years old, boasted of a great many things he had never done, particularly of his amours with women.

13. *The Edition of March 1533, published by Froben and Episcopius*

There is not much biography in the two colloquies added to the next edition, the last to which the author made additions. The first colloquy, 'The Problem,' discusses the phenomena of gravity and levity in an Aristotelian manner, the occasion for its composition being Erasmus's recent labors in editing the complete works of Aristotle (Basle, J. Bebelius, 1531). One personal reminiscence tells of the experiments made by a member of the English king's household on some aloe-wood. The names of the interlocutors, Curio and Alphius, are doubtless chosen with reference to their etymological import, for Curio is 'curious,' and Alphius 'yielded' a large harvest of facts. There was, however, a real Valentine Curio at Basle.

The second new colloquy, 'The Epicurean,' in its endeavor to prove the Christian life the happiest, that is the most Epicurean, recalls a paradox which Erasmus had first advanced in his school-days and had defended in an early work, 'On Contempt for the World,' [1] and which he had found discussed

[1] First published in 1521, but written much earlier. Reprinted in Opera, 1703, V, 1239.

at great length in his admired Valla's *De Voluptate ac Vero Bono*, published by Cratander at Basle in 1519. One speaker argues for the Epicurean philosophy, a second for the Stoic, and a third, Nicoli, sums up in favor of Christianity as the most Epicurean life of all.[1]

[1] Valla, De Voluptate ac Vero Bono, pp. 87 ff. I quote from the 1519 edition at Cornell.

INDEX

INDEX

Addison, J., 43
Aesop, 38
Agricola, R., 54
Agrippa, H. C., 34, 39
Albany, duke of, 19
Alchemy, 34
Aldo. See Manuzio
Aleander, J., 52, 53
Algoet, L., 7, 37, 48, 51
Alne, Sir J., 32
Amerbach, Boniface, 34, 44
Amerbach, Bruno, 34
Andrelinus, F., 4, 52
Apollonius of Tyre, 20
Aristotle, 54, 55
Arnold, R., 4
Asolano, A., 53
Astrology, 29

Bacon, F., 43
Baechem, N. See Egmond
Balbus, J., 4, 9
Barland, A., 3
Bartholinus, R., 51
Basle, Bishop of, 10
Beda, N., 7, 39, 45
Bentinus, M., 49
Bergen, Anthony of, 19
Bergen, John, lord of, 19
Berkman, F., 18
Bernard von Cles, cardinal, bishop of Trent, 51
Bertholf, H., 21, 24, 46, 51
Boccaccio, G., 8, 20
Borgia, L., 23
Botzheim, J., 11, 50, 51
Bourbon, E. de, 38
Brassicanus, J. A., 12
Briçonnet, W., 8
Bruckner, N., 35
Brun, T., 47
Bucer, M., 25
Büsslin, M., 24, 35, 36
Busche, H. von dem, 10
Busleiden, J., 28

Calvin, J., 40
Camerarius, 25
Caminade, A. V., 4, 5
Campeggio, 43
Cannius, N., 7, 8
Capito, W. F., 11, 25, 42
Careggi, 8
Carteromachus, S., 53
Casembrot, 53
Castanio, J. B., 14
Catharine Parr, queen of England, 25
Celtis, C., 23
Cervantes, M., 1
Cervicorn, E., 44
Charles V, emperor, 17, 19, 42
Charles VIII, king of France, 38
Charles, duke of Gelderland, 19
Chaucer, G., 36
Christian II, king of Denmark, 40
Cicero, 52
Clement VII, pope, 42
Clichtove, J. van, 46
Colet, J., 6, 40
Colines, S. de, 45,
Colt, E., 32
Colt, Jane, 15, 33
Colt, John, 15, 30, 32
Colt, M., 32
Columbus, 26
Cousin, G., 52
Couturier, P. See Sutor
Cratander, 56
Curio, V., 55
Cyprian, St., 4

Dierx, V., 43
Dominius, J., 52
Du Chesne, W., 7, 45, 47
Dürer, A., 23
Durand, M., 9

Education of women, 27
Egmond, N. Baechem of, 9, 42
Eldrington, Sir J., 32
Emili, E., 51

Episcopius, N., 51, 55
Eppendorf, H. von, 12, 35, 36, 41, 44, 47, 49, 50
Euripides, 39
Everard, N., 9

Faber, J., bishop of Vienna, 51
Farel, W., 42
Fasting, 10
Faust, 34
Fawne, J., 33
Feminism, 12, 39
Ferdinand of Hapsburg, 51
France, Anatole, 22
Francis I, king of France, 42
Froben, E., 6, 51
Froben, G., 6
Froben, J., 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 17, 24, 27, 39, 41, 43, 44, 48, 51, 55

Gaguin, R., 38
Garçon, G., 38
Gardens, 8
Gellius, A., 39
Gengenbach, P., 13
George, duke of Saxony, 14
Gerard, C., 4, 5, 9
Gilles, C. S., 7, 15, 27, 28
Gilles, P., 4, 7, 8, 15, 25, 27
Glarean, H., 11, 12, 26
Glazer, G., 34
Goethe, J. W. von, 2
Grapheus, C., 25
Grey, T., 4, 29, 30, 31, 37
Grynaeus, S., 26

Hagenau, H. von, 10
Hajo Frisius of Caminga, 50
Hajo, H. F., 50
Hajo, Q. T., 50
Harst, C., 49
Hegendorfer, C., 3
Heidelberg, University of, scholastic manual, 3
Heingartner, C., 35
Henckel, M., 18
Henry VII, king of England, 30, 33
Henry VIII, king of England, 19, 25
Herman, N., 29
Hervagius, 51
Hoffmann, M., 49
Hrotswitha, 22
Hübmaier, B., 2
Hump, H., 2
Huseneck, R., 34
Hutten, U. von, 18, 35, 47

Inns, 21
Isenflam, H., 18

James V, king of Scotland, 19, 20
Jesus Christ, 29, 46
Jetzer, J., 28
Jonas, J., 25
Jonson, B., 1, 21, 53
Joseph, husband of Virgin Mary, 46
Jucundus, J., 52
Julius II, pope, 29

Keller, L., 25
Keller, W. R., 48
Kiel, L., 24
Kirchen, M. von, 51
Klusen, K. van der, 49
Kolb, C., 34

Latomus, 42
Lee, E., 6
Lefèvre d'Étaples, J., 46
Leo X, pope, 20
Longolius, C., 54
Louis XI, king of France, 37, 38
Louvain, theologians of, 9
Lucan, 54
Lundorf, M. C., 38
Luther, M., 2, 23, 24, 25, 29, 39
Lyster, G., 51.

Macrobius, 54
Manuzio, A., 52
Margaret d'Angoulême, queen of Navarre, 8, 21
Marot, C., 1
Marriage, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 47
Marsiglio of Padua, 10
Martens, T., 6
Martyr, P., 26

Mary, mother of Jesus, 20, 28, 40, 41, 46
Mary, queen of Hungary, 51
Maurice, J., 4
Maximilian I, emperor, 38
Medardus, 51
Meghen, P., 8
Mercklin, B., bishop of Constance, 51
Mirandola, P. della, 37
Molière, 1
Monastic vows, 14
Montaigne, M. de, 1
Montanus, P., 48
More, M., 15, 27, 33
More, Sir T., 5, 7, 8, 15, 16, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32, 48, 55
Morton, J., archbishop of Canterbury, 30
Mosellanus, P. S., 3, 50
Müller, A., 43
Murner, T., 25
Myconius, O., 11

Naevius, 4
Nettesheim, C. A., von, 12
Nifo, A., 28
Northoff, C., 4, 5
Nostradamus (Michel de Notredame), 34

Oecolampadius, J., 8, 11, 25, 49
Oporinus, 25

Pacifism, 17
Palissy, B., 8
Pannonius, J., 40
Paphnutius, 22
Paracelsus, T., 34
Paris, University of, 5
    Montaigu, College of, 7, 43
Pascal, B., 18
Pellican, C., 11, 12, 23, 25, 43, 49
Pflug, J., 54
Philip, duke of Burgundy, 38
Pio, prince of Carpi, 54
Pirckheimer, W., 27
Plato, 8, 54
Pliny, 54
Plutarch, 54,
Poggio, B., 20
Priccard, L., 7, 24

Rabelais, F., 1, 8, 21, 38, 40
Ravenstane, F. von, 19
Reade, Charles, 1, 21
Regiomontanus, J., 28
Reublin, 10
Reuchlin, J., 11, 12
Rex, F., 8, 48, 51
Rhegius, U., 29
Rhenanus, B., 5, 44
Richard III, king of England, 30

Sapidus, J., 7
Sardou, V., 1
Sauermann, 45
Sbrulius, R., 24
Scaliger, J. C., 52, 53, 54
Schotten, 3
Scott, Sir Walter, 1, 21
Scotus, Duns, 5
Shakespeare, W., 1, 20
Smith, W., 32
Smotzer, Dr. G., 7
Sorbonne. See University of Paris
Spenser, E., 25
Spiegel, J., 7
Stallberger, C., 24
Standish, H., bishop of St. Asaph, 27
Steinschneider, S., 10
Stöffler, J., 28
Superstition, 20, 29, 31
Sutor, P., 45, 47

Thais, St., 22
Theodoric, F., 4
Titelmann, F., 48
Trent, Council of, 14
Trithemius, J., 34

Ulrich, duke of Württemberg, 18
Utenhoven, C., 50, 51

Valdés, A. de, 45
Valdés, J. de, 45
Valla, L., 56
Veere, Adolph, prince of, 9, 19
    Anne, lady of, 19
Velius, G. U., 6

Vespucci, A., 26
Vitry, J. de, 38
Vives, L., 3, 18, 21, 27, 36, 45

Wentworth, Sir R., 29
Wiele, A., 51
Wissenburg, 10
Wolfhart, B., 10
Wonnecker, J. R., 17
Worde, W. de, 27

Zasius, U., 42, 43
Zimmermann, G., 18
Zschegkebürlin, J., 18
Zscheckabürlin, M., 13
Zwingli, U., 11, 17, 39, 41

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